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The Shape of Things

WE REJOICE THAT THE UNITED NATIONS have acted in time to forestall a Japanese occupation of Madagascar, the great French island which stands so commandingly astride the sea routes to India and the Middle East. As we go to press, few details are available, but a strong force appears to have landed near Diego Suarez, the well-equipped naval base at the northern tip of the island, and to be advancing against only slight opposition. Reports so far received suggest that the expedition is wholly British. It seems to us unfortunate that arrangements were not made for at least a token American contingent. However, we welcome the strong State Department announcement that the occupation has "the full approval and support of the United States government" and its warning to Vichy to refrain from any form of retaliation. More serious than the lack of direct American participation is the fact that the Free French forces appear to have been left completely out of the operation. Moreover, early reports suggest that the British are planning to carry out a purely military occupation, leaving civil administration in the hands of the Vichy-appointed governor, who is responsible for the recent reign of terror against local supporters of De Gaulle. Such an appeasing gesture to the government of Pierre Laval would be political folly of the first water. It would be a direct invitation to sabotage and espionage in Madagascar and a smack in the face for the Free French movement which would inevitably confuse and dismay millions of Frenchmen just when they need increased moral backing to carry on their bitter fight against collaboration.

*

STANDARD OIL OF NEW JERSEY ISSUED AN angry denial of the charges that a deal with I. G. Farben had stifled the production of synthetic acetic acid in this country, but the denial has only intensified suspicion that the company knew what it was doing in entering into a series of agreements with the Nazi chemical trust. The charges made by Irving Lipkowitz of the Justice Department's anti-trust division were specific and were based on more than a hundred documents submitted to the Senate Patents Committee. These show that Standard Oil dismantled its acetylene plant in 1939,

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after the outbreak of war, under an agreement negotiated after the war started but predated to the day before the war. Although the Standard Oil Company, after Lipkowitz's testimony before the committee, issued a statement declaring that Lipkowitz had "drawn conclusions not based on the facts," it avoided sending a representative before the committee to deny the charges under oath. Nor did it deny the essential fact—that the company had dismantled its plant under an agreement with the German company.

*

STANDARD OIL HAS BEEN ON THE CARPET for dealing with Axis firms before. It will be recalled that the company put up a feeble defense when Thurman Arnold charged fully a month ago that its agreements with I. G. Farben had hindered synthetic-rubber production in this country, and that it had no reply when Assistant Secretary of State Berle declared that it did not halt sales of gasoline to Nazi airlines in South America until forced to by the State Department's blacklist. So far, however, there has been no prosecution or direct investigation of the Standard Oil Company to find out why it adopted these Axis-favoring policies. It is quite possible that the company officials have been merely innocent victims of a clever Axis design to weaken this country in the event of war. But if their share in the affair has been entirely innocent, they should welcome an investigation and should not shy away from making statements under oath.

*

THERE ARE SIGNS THAT THE POLITICAL truce in Britain is being strained to the breaking-point, not by conflicts between the party machines, but by the growing reluctance of the electors to accept rubber-stamp candidates. The formation of a coalition government at the beginning of the war was accompanied by a standstill agreement between the three major parties—Conservative, Labor, and Liberal. Since then, whenever a Parliamentary vacancy has occurred, the party machines have united in supporting the nominee of whichever party previously held the seat. The practical necessity of such an arrangement is obvious, but it has had also the grave disadvantage of perpetuating a political set-up dating back to 1935 and one increasingly unrepresentative of current opinion. Moreover, it has resulted in most vacancies being filled by elderly party hacks whose chances of election would have been slim if they had had to fight for it. Nevertheless, until recently the independent candidates who offered themselves at many by-elections failed to attract votes. Now in the course of a single day two traditionally Conservative constituencies have been captured by independents of a leftist but not Communist character. These overturns at Rugby and Wallasey follow one at Grantham about a month ago, when the Conservative candidate was defeated by a popular local manufacturer with past Labor affiliations standing as an independent. In all three cases the successful candidates emphasized that they were not against Prime Minister Churchill. On the contrary, they wanted to strengthen his hands for a really all-out effort to win the war and prepare for the peace. Their victories are indicative of political ferments at work in Britain which the party machines, sunk in bureaucratic inertia, can no longer safely ignore.

*

AS A RESULT OF LAST WEEK'S PLEBISCITE IN Canada Prime Minister Mackenzie King is free to ask for legislation imposing conscription for overseas service. Technically, he has of course always had that right. But since he had made a solemn pledge before the last election not to draft men for foreign service, Mr. King had maintained that only the voters could release him from his promise. The pledge was made in the interest of national unity at a time when the loyalty of Quebec was in serious question. The imposition of conscription in World War I had provoked widespread disaffection among the French Canadians of Quebec, and in view of the known fascist sympathies of a section of the population it was feared that the situation would be even worse in this war. While conditions in Quebec have materially improved in the past two years as a result of the passing of the Duplessis government, the plebiscite results indicate that the problem is by no means solved. Although some sections of the province voted yes, Quebec as a whole voted nearly three to one against releasing Mr. King from his pledge. In some districts the negative vote was as high as thirty or forty to one. It is still not clear whether the government will proceed with legislation extending the draft in the face of the Quebec opposition, but the chances are that it will do so after some delay. The overwhelming majority of Canadians have shown that they are determined to win the war at any cost, and although some trouble may be expected, the minority will doubtless go along.

*

THE RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE WORKING committee of the All India Congress Party decreeing that invasion of the country is to be met with non-violent non-cooperation makes it clear that Gandhi, whose influence seemed to be waning, still has extraordinary power over Indian opinion. The motives actuating the Mahatma, in whom the saint and the politician are so bafflingly mixed, are less clear. His insistence on non-violence—of which Nehru and many other Congress leaders have long since become skeptical, to say the least—might be put down to a single-minded dedication to a technique which has been his life work if it were not for his recent anti-British and anti-American utterances. It is true, of course, that non-violence does not mean

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non-resistance, though it seems a poor method of opposing airplanes and tanks. It is also true that the resolution states that "not to put obstacles in the way of the British forces will often be the only way of demonstrating non-cooperation with the invader," and it reiterates Indian antipathy to Nazism and fascism. In this last fact, and it is a fact, lies the best hope that the Indians, whatever the Congress has decreed, will defend themselves by any means they have at their disposal. We imagine that many good Congress members are taking comfort from the fact that there are both British and American forces in India, and they will undoubtedly continue the preparations for guerrilla warfare and Home Guard defense that are already under way in many sections. Indian bitterness against British rule is deep and understandable. It is hard to believe that this bitterness will be allowed to facilitate the conquest of India by a far more brutal imperialism.

*

DESPITE THE ATTACKS MADE BY SENATORS Byrd and Taft on government publicity agencies, these agencies have on the whole been operated with great efficiency and objectivity. Every newspaperman in Washington knows what a useful role they play in providing necessary information. Most of the publicity men are themselves ex-newspapermen of experience and ability. It is not always possible for an official to deal directly with the press, and much time is saved by routing requests for information through an information officer. Byrd's attack on Lowell Mellett's new United States Information Center reflects a bitter and unfair campaign against Mellett by the Washington *Post*. The purpose of the new center is to make it easier for business men and others to find out where to go in the bureaucratic labyrinths of the capital when they have specific contractual or other matters to discuss. Taft is equally unfair in his attack on Archibald MacLeish, an attack that insists on identifying vigorous criticism of defeatists with their suppression. MacLeish's record and public statements make Taft's talk of "suppression" and "lynch law" ridiculous. If any fault is to be found with government publicity agencies it is that they are often so afraid of the horrid word "propaganda" that they lean too far in the other direction.

*

THAT THE DISLIKE OF THE SPANIARDS FOR their present regime has spread far beyond the Loyalist ranks is a fact on which all serious observers of the Spanish situation agree. Many former Franco supporters have been thrown into the opposition by a growing disappointment in which hunger, Phalangist terrorism, and a too abject submission to Berlin all play a part. The bulk of this new opposition has emerged from a section of the Officers' Corps, for whom the arrogant military pretensions of the Phalanx have become unbearable, and from the ranks of the Monarchists, who have been ruthlessly excluded from any participation in the "reconstruction" of Spain. We are therefore not surprised to hear Monarchist voices suddenly raised against a regime with which they appeared to be entirely identified during the most desperate moments of the Spanish struggle. We do not doubt, either, the enthusiasm with which Don Manuel de Augustín, Marques de Aguiar, has set himself, according to the New York *Times* of May 3, to the task of raising on this continent an army of 150,000 men of Spanish blood to fight against the Nazis and their Spanish puppets—provided only "that certain diplomatic arrangements could be made." We doubt still less that there will be officials in Washington who, should they feel themselves obliged some day to take a position against the Franco regime, would find their bitter duty somehow softened if they could do it by allying themselves with a marquis of genuine reactionary extraction. What we do doubt is that the Spanish people in America are likely to rush to arms under the leadership of a grandee who at best could play the role of a kind of Spanish Eckhardt—admired in certain appeasement circles but without any popular national following of his own.

The Fall of Burma

ANOTHER chapter has been virtually completed in the five-months-old Pacific war. And like all that have gone before, it has ended in tragedy. The fall of Mandalay marks the end of effective resistance in Burma. By seizing Lashio Japan has accomplished the primary object of its campaign. The Burma road has been severed. China has been very nearly isolated from the other United Nations. It is true that an alternative route, a few miles to the north of the old road, has recently been opened, but this too is endangered by the Japanese advance into northern Burma. At best, the new routes planned can carry but a fraction of the supplies that were beginning to move through the Lashio gateway.

In many respects the setback is more serious than any of the United Nations' preceding defeats. The loss of Singapore deprived us of a vital base for a counter-offensive against Japan, but it left us the possibility of continued defense. Java was important both because of its natural riches and as a base for future operations. Burma also is rich in raw materials and has great strategic importance. But the catastrophe of its loss lies in the fact that we are deprived of the ability to arm and supply, except at great cost, one of our principal allies. Unless we somehow restore effective communications, China cannot carry on indefinitely. Ironically enough, it may go down to defeat, after five years of courageous resistance, as a result of the realization of its greatest hope—the entry of the United States and Britain into the war. For

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it is the failure of the United States and Great Britain to prepare an adequate strategy that has permitted Japan to succeed in its carefully worked-out plan for closing the back door to China.

The immediate cause of the defeat in Burma, as in all other sectors, was the lack of air power. Just why the defenders of Burma should lack planes five months after the start of the Pacific war, when American production has attained really substantial levels, has not been officially explained. It is probable that the answer lies largely in the lack of shipping for the transportation of fighter planes. It also looks as if the United States had been once more outguessed by the Japanese General Staff. At the beginning of the war we were fooled by the attack on Pearl Harbor and rushed to Hawaii reinforcements and supplies that were badly needed in the Philippines, Wake, and Singapore. In the past six weeks we have strained our energies to reinforce Australia, while the main Japanese attack has been directed against Burma. The British have done no better. If we are to judge by press reports, the original British garrison in Burma received no reinforcements of consequence. A few British planes were sent in, but too few to be of value against the impressive Japanese concentration.

The failure of the United Nations to reinforce the defenders of Burma adequately makes it clear that we have not yet achieved anything approaching effective coordination in the Pacific area. The defense of Burma was left almost entirely to the Chinese on the theory that China was chiefly concerned in the outcome. The Chinese fought gallantly enough. But they were never given sufficient air support or the equipment they needed to conquer the Japanese motorized units. This was our responsibility.

Burma is lost. The mistakes that have been made cannot be undone. But it is not too late to save China and India if we make it one of our paramount tasks to furnish enough weapons to the peoples of these countries, regardless of cost or fancied risk to our own bases. If the past five months have taught us anything, it is that the United Nations must act as one if they are to escape complete disaster.

Wages and Inflation

IN HIS message to Congress outlining his anti-inflationary program the President asked for legislation to implement his proposals for additional taxation and for limiting farm prices to 100 per cent of parity. Very pointedly he omitted to ask for any legal curbs on wages, hoping to achieve by administrative action that stabilization of "the remuneration received by individuals for their work" which he included among his seven necessary steps "to keep the cost of living from spiraling upward." More than that, he used his influence to help kill the various bills which sought to shackle trade-union organization and to abolish the forty-hour week.

Because of his unwillingness to crack down on labor and his refusal to institute forthwith a rigid wage ceiling Mr. Roosevelt has been subjected to a tremendous barrage of criticism.

> The real weakness of the program [the New York *Times* declares in a representative editorial] is that it continues to avoid coming directly to grips with the harsh necessities of inflation control. It ignores lamentably the central necessity—a tax program which drains off from the masses of the consumers the excess purchasing power being created by war-time government spending. Instead, it offers the almost wholly irrelevant suggestion of a $25,000 limit on all individual earnings. It continues to lean hopefully upon purely voluntary restraint of wage increases despite the demonstrated weakness of such a course and the inconsistency of putting a ceiling upon the vital cost element—wages—which have so much to do in determining prices.

In the course of his message to Congress, and again in his broadcast, the President pointed out that our peace-time standard of living must come down and that we must give up not only luxuries but many creature comforts. Obviously he was not suggesting that only the rich should make sacrifices. In making his taxation proposals, however, he was keeping in mind the sound political principle that when you are asking the mass of the people to forgo butter to provide guns you cannot leave the well-to-do to eat their caviar undisturbed. No matter what laws may be passed and how many teeth they are equipped with, the control of inflation will depend on the consent and cooperation of the majority of our citizens. Lacking this consent, it will be as futile as prohibition, and for this reason, if no other, it is essential that the psychological aspects of the problem should not be neglected.

The Office of Price Administration has estimated that spendable income in the current year will exceed goods and services available for consumption by from $17 billion to $21 billion. This is the famous inflationary gap which must be closed if the pressure of purchasing power is not to force prices through their new ceilings. Undoubtedly the bulk of the increased spendable income will be in the pockets of the workers, but this does not mean that the average family income will be unduly swollen. Millions of unemployed have once again stepped into the ranks of wage-earners in the past year; millions more who were working part time are now bringing home a full week's wage plus overtime payments. A few highly skilled workers are making enough to place them in the middle-income brackets, but average wages certainly do not provide for more than a modest standard of comfort. Douglas aircraft workers, for in-

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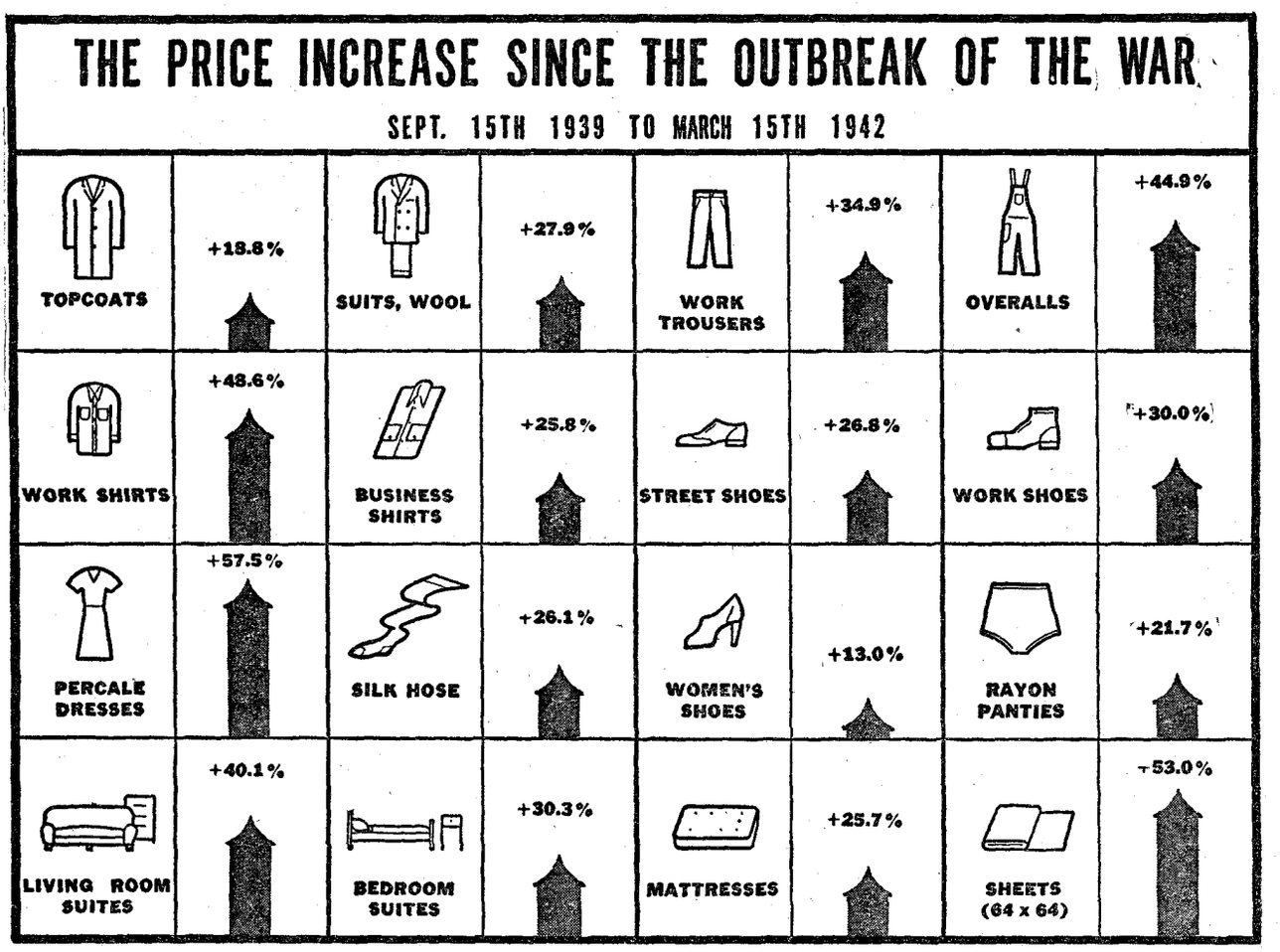
stance, at the end of 1941 were averaging $44.65 per week, which means of course that the less skilled employees were drawing considerably less than this amount. The pay envelope at General Electric, where a large proportion of the workers are highly skilled, averaged no more than $45.11 last year. In view of the rise in prices which has already taken place—and as the accompanying chart shows, the rise has been particularly steep in the case of articles of working-class consumption such as work shirts and percale dresses—these wages cannot be regarded as extravagant.

Nevertheless, it is true that wages cannot safely be increased and must expect to bear a much heavier burden of taxation if the inflationary gap is to be closed. So far as wages are concerned, the President hopes to achieve a voluntary freezing. His directive to William H. Davis of the War Labor Board calls for stabilization of workers' remuneration "under a flexible policy of balancing the wage structure." This recognizes that an absolutely rigid ceiling on wages cannot be adopted in view of the many anomalies which now exist. For instance, automobile workers, many of whom are now engaged in aircraft construction, are better paid than the regular airplane mechanics. It may be necessary to correct this situation, not only for the sake of abstract justice, but to prevent a drift of workers from the West Coast to Detroit.

Any general increase in wage levels would bring no real benefit to the workers, for it would do nothing to increase the total goods available. We have no doubt that most trade-union leaders recognize this harsh fact, even though they have gone on record as "unalterably opposed to any system of wage-freezing"—to quote Philip Murray. Their situation is complicated by the fact that, with wages fixed, some members may tend to lose interest in the union. But this danger may be avoided if the War Labor Board continues to support maintenance-of-membership agreements in plants where a majority of the workers are now organized. The unions, also, could do much to consolidate their position by putting more effort into the task of education and by developing new ways to safeguard their members' economic interests. The mutual housing scheme supported by the shipyard workers at Camden, New Jersey, is a case in point.

The trade unions have given many proofs of the earnestness of their support for the war effort, and we cannot believe that they will refuse to do their part in fighting inflation. The Administration has stood firmly against coercive measures and taken considerable risks by insisting that labor policy during the war must be developed on a voluntary basis. So far this stand has been triumphantly vindicated; and it would be tragic if any breach between the President and labor were now to open on the question of wages.



Graphic by Pick-S. Source, United States Department of Labor

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Axis Spring Maneuvers

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE warring world is experiencing a "lull." Though men are fighting and dying on twenty fronts, no major movements are going on. But a lull is only a phase of the fight; like an interval of sparring in a boxing match, it is used to stall for time or maneuver for position. The maneuvering in progress today is as elaborate and difficult to follow as the most intricate military operation, and equally important.

There is every reason why such moves as Hitler's speech, the Salzburg meeting between Hitler and Mussolini, and rumors of political disturbance in Italy and Spain should be minutely examined by commentators and statesmen. In them lie the clues to actions in the coming months which may determine the final outcome of the war. Unfortunately, clues are not easy to extract from an inspired rumor or the speech of a dictator; the language of politics is enigmatical. As a consequence, a good deal of nonsense has been spoken and written about the goings-on in Axis-controlled Europe—nonsense which reveals a passionate desire for the enemy's collapse rather than a shrewd estimate of his strength.

Hitler's speech was, of course, defensive. It acknowledged the defeat of Nazi plans in the very act of explaining it. It threatened Britain with a blow-for-blow retaliation for the R. A. F. raids but coupled its threat with the suggestion that the empire could only be saved "with Europe"—Hitler's Europe. It promised to destroy "the Bolshevist colossus" but reminded Britain that after the war she would find "her allies stronger than she is herself," a strange prediction that revealed Hitler's fear of defeat through an inverted plea for British support against Russia. In the course of explaining the reasons for the winter retreat in Russia it exposed the necessity of making "hard decisions" in cases "where nerves snapped, discipline broke down, or a sense of duty was lacking." To mention such a necessity at all was to acknowledge the serious nature of the break in morale. But Hitler went much farther. By demanding the Reichstag's ratification of his "right to intervene and take necessary action wherever the existence of our nation demands it," Hitler in effect admitted that demoralization was bound to continue and that he could not count upon even the ruthless organs of Nazi "justice" to act with sufficient brutality and contempt for legal rights.

Hitler led from weakness, not from strength. But only a reckless optimist could take any short-term comfort from this fact. The evidences of growing strain in Germany insure a period in which Hitler will resort to desperate measures rather than accept defeat or delay. If he launches a "peace offensive," as many serious observers expect, it will be aimed not at making peace—he knows well enough that peace now is impossible—but at creating enough division of opinion here and in London, based on fear of increased Russian power after the war, to slow down the war effort. Ironically, in this maneuver his arguments and his hopes are in direct conflict. Only if Russia continues to hold his armies can he threaten the world with the consequences of Bolshevik success; but only in case of Russian collapse can he hope for any faltering in Allied morale.

A peace drive would, at most, serve as a sort of artillery barrage to soften the enemy before the next real attack. It would logically follow the present strategic lull. But only if the anti-Axis world allows itself to be led astray by reports of unrest and imminent collapse in the fascist countries will the tactic be successful.

This doesn't mean that discontent among the war-weary population of Europe is a fiction. It is real and inevitable. The quotations published in *The Nation* two weeks ago from the Nazi official press revealed the unhappiness and anxiety of an army and a people that have endured the horrors of the winter campaign in Russia. The report this week on German man-power shows the lengths to which Hitler must go to keep his war machine supplied. But the only real hope to be found in Hitler's difficulties is a future hope. In the next few months, the months that count most critically, no benefit can be expected from German suffering or German gloom. On the contrary, the nearer Hitler's back comes to the ultimate wall of defeat, the more dangerous and aggressive will be his struggles.

As for the happy evidences of disaffection in Italy and Spain, those, too, should be simultaneously acknowledged and discounted. Count Sforza, the wisest and most liberal of Italian statesmen-in-exile, writing in this issue of *The Nation,* effectively disposes of many hopeful interpretations put on the recent activities of the Italian royal house. Such interpretations are based on old fallacies; it is time the anti-Axis world abandoned its childish preoccupation with the divisions among fascists. No love is lost, certainly, between Mussolini and the royal family—just as no love is lost between Mussolini and Hitler—but these assorted partners in crime will certainly wait to cut each others' throats until they have expended every effort to cut ours.

The Italian people are hungry and miserable, and this condition grows worse. How it will be dealt with is already indicated: more Gestapo agents are moving into Italy "to study the organization of the Italian police"; 350,000 Italian workers will be sent to Germany in the next three months; more Italian troops will be sent to the eastern front; Fascist party leaders who criticize the regime are being liquidated; new loud demands for French territory are published in the press; and Italian prefects are given full powers to stamp out any attempts

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at resistance. Unrest cannot be ended, but it can be temporarily held in check by a mixture of terror and small measures of distraction and amelioration—a circus or two, a little bit of bread. That the bitter feeling of the mass of Italians will in the end prove a powerful asset to the Allied nations is not to be doubted; but to exaggerate its present effect is to jeopardize its ultimate value. Our future allies are the Italian people and their democratic leaders, not dissident Fascists and members of a royal house that has served as the tyrant's useful tool for twenty long years.

As for Spain, one can only repeat the same warning in louder and more impatient tones. Dope stories straight from the city rooms of American newspapers tell of imminent government upheavals, of the probable exile of Suñer, of fights between army officers and Phalangists. The old friction between the army and the Phalanx has undoubtedly increased. But to hope that this friction will produce a new government commanding popular support or that Franco will himself head a reorganized anti-Axis regime, is to repeat the error committed toward Rome and Vichy. Franco and Suñer may have differences which would insure a break under normal condition. Today the two men and their followers are bound together by the strongest tie that exists: both know that their lives and their power are forfeit if either betrays the other or if their regime betrays Hitler. Once in a position to choose between them, the Spanish people will choose neither. The sufferings of the last five years are sufficient guaranty of that.

Both Feet in the Trough

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, May 4

CREDIT the House Naval Affairs Committee under Vinson of Georgia with a major share of the price reductions beginning to be offered the government by war contractors. The War Department says it has saved almost $75,000,000 by renegotiating contracts with North American Aviation. Secretary Knox announces that the Sperry Corporation has "readjusted" prices in a way that will save the army and navy $100,000,000. Ernest R. Breech, president of Bendix Aviation, declares his company has made voluntary reductions in the price of aircraft parts and accessories that will save the government an estimated $73,354,000.

Representative Vinson claims that his committee's inquiry into war profits has already saved the government some $400,000,000. This amounts to considerably less than 1 per cent of the total value of war contracts to which the army, navy, and Maritime Commission are committed. If Congress were less niggardly and if Vinson spent less time looking for far-fetched arguments to prove that labor is "profiteering," the committee could push total savings into the billions. But a Congress which could find $110,000 for Dies dishes out a meager $25,000 at a time to the Vinson committee. So far it has spent little more than $40,000, or .01 per cent of the savings effected. Though the Naval Affairs Committee shines by comparison with the House Military Affairs Committee, which has devoted itself wholly to whitewashing big business and smearing the New Deal, Vinson and most of his colleagues have little heart for a thorough inquiry into profits. Their preliminary report, on January 21, was obscure, jumbled, and confusing in its discussion of profits, enthusiastic in its attack on labor. The $10,000,000 increase in the assets of American trade unions since the beginning of the war, about a dollar a member, may seem microscopic beside the billions raked in by capital, but the committee saw it as "tremendous financial gains . . . an astounding picture of concentration of wealth . . . hitherto associated only with industry and finance."

Misplaced eloquence of this kind is not suprising from a committee whose chief counsel is Edmund M. Toland, famous for his work several years ago with the Smith committee's investigation of the Labor Board. The profit questionnaires sent out by the Vinson committee are hardly searching, and the figures disclosed in its report are the figures war contractors themselves gave for their costs and profits. Where the contractor failed to state whether the profit was before or after taxes, the committee generously assumed that it was before taxes. Yet the profits uncovered were often so enormous and the cost accounting so fantastic as to stir Toland's professional zeal as counsel to the point where he seems to annoy some members of the committee. The chairman himself, as coauthor of the Vinson-Trammell Act limiting war profits, is torn between his interest in placing some ceiling on armament costs and his unwillingness to antagonize big business. The latter feeling is usually dominant.

That so timorous an inquiry should begin to frighten arms concerns into "voluntary" price cuts is some indication of the money they must be making on the war program. The figures in the preliminary report, obscure and unintelligible as they were, were shocking enough to lead

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the President on April 8 to establish a Price Adjustment Board to renegotiate army, navy, and Maritime Commission contracts where the profits seemed exorbitant. This board has been working as quietly and tactfully as a floorwalker who has just caught a duchess in the act of stealing a bottle of perfume. Every effort is made to have the "lift" appear accidental, the restitution voluntary.

More effective than the embarrassed inquiries of the board is the fear of exposure before a Congressional committee. The Vinson questionnaires have begun to worry arms contractors. The arrival of committee investigators stimulates the latent sense of patriotism. North American Aviation was due for a visit from committee accountants. Sperry Corporation made its offer of readjustment exactly three weeks after agents for the Vinson committee began to examine its books; Vinson promises a report within the near future on "the reasonableness of the $100,000,000 saving thus far offered." Bendix began to think of price cuts after its records were subpoenaed by the committee, and its president, Breech, announced the company's reduction offer from the Vinson committee's witness stand on Thursday. Breech testified that the subpoena arrived on April 6. His first letter offering the government a price reduction went out on April 20. Breech denied that he was moved to act by the arrival of the subpoena. "My movement was generated," he explained, "by the general publicity on the subject."

How Bendix Aviation happened to find itself on the griddle before the Vinson committee last Thursday is a mystery whose solution may be found in the friendly relations between Toland and Thurman Arnold and in the peculiar kind of guerrilla warfare the anti-trust "truce" forces Arnold to wage. Bendix Aviation is an important company, an affiliate of General Motors, and the committee has been very hesitant about going after big business. Although it has been investigating war profits for more than a year, it has held only two hearings at which war contractors have been publicly examined. The first was on March 23, the second on last Thursday, April 30. In an appendix to the transcript of the first hearing I came across some documents which indicate how reluctant the committee is to go after the really big profiteers; among them were a number of memoranda from committee investigators to Toland. One gives a list of contractors engaged in making aircraft who hold contracts on which they themselves admit profits in excess of 50 per cent of cost. "It occurred to me," the investigator wrote, "that this list of companies may serve the purpose of indicating contractors who should be investigated." There follow lists of all contracts on which profits of more than 10 per cent were reported.

These lists are as poorly organized as most of the profit releases of the committee, but when put together they show what important witnesses Vinson and his colleagues might have chosen for their first hearing. There were 718 naval-aircraft contracts on which a profit of more than 10 per cent was reported. These contracts were held by 58 companies. Bendix Aviation held the largest number of high-profit contracts, 92 in all. The Aluminum Company of America was next with 25, on which the stated rate of profit ran as high as 95.3 per cent. The highest rate of profit which Bendix admitted was 122 per cent. Glenn L. Martin held 12 high-profit contracts, the highest being 83.6 per cent; Sperry held 13 contracts, the highest 46.1 per cent. Bell Aircraft had a profit of 105.6 per cent; Douglas Aircraft, one of 35.2 per cent. RCA and du Pont and General Electric and Goodyear and Curtiss-Wright also held high-profit contracts. These are all important aircraft contractors, supplying large amounts of materials or finished parts. But the committee, in planning its first hearing, went to the very bottom of its list and picked a company no one had ever heard of before, a company holding one contract, on which it reported a profit of 11.7 per cent. This was Jack and Heintz of Cleveland, which makes a starter for aviation engines.

Jack and Heintz made a great story for the newspapers. No big-business toes were stepped on, and the case was made to appear one of labor profiteering, since a girl secretary was paid $39,365 for a year's work. There were more important aspects of this case that the papers overlooked. The first is that the profit which Jack and Heintz reported as 11.7 per cent turned out to be 100 per cent. If a profit reported as 11.7 per cent turned out to be 100 per cent, what were the real rates of profit of companies which reported 50 and 60 per cent and even, in one case, 141 per cent?

Persons close to the committee explain that Jack and Heintz were chosen for the first hearing because the Navy Department, the FBI, and the Internal Revenue Bureau were at work on the case, and the committee didn't want to be left behind. No one can read the transcript of the Jack and Heintz hearing without feeling that the navy, the FBI, and the Revenue Bureau were completely justified in having a look at the affairs of this company. But why was so much attention paid to this small fry and so little to the much larger contracts and the much higher profits of bigger companies? It is an interesting coincidence that when Jack and Heintz went into the manufacture of starters they were muscling in on one of the most lucrative patent-monopoly pools in America, that presided over by General Motors' Bendix Aviation.

The Jack and Heintz hearing was on March 23. A subpoena was served on Bendix on April 6. The hearing was held on April 30. But the hearing had very little to do with costs, though several inter-office memos disclosed the interesting methods used by Bendix to arrive at its prices. The formula given was "direct labor, plus 300 per cent, plus materials equals commercial cost.

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To the commercial-cost figure add 50 per cent for profit, which will give a minimum net selling price. This minimum . . . multiplied by two should equal the list price." Apparently minimum prices were not for the government because another inter-office memo, referring to the Hayes Manufacturing Company, says, "The Air Corps prices, unless under special circumstances, are more than their civilian prices, which is sound."

But the main emphasis of the hearing was on the relationship between Bendix and General Motors, and between Bendix and Siemens of Germany. The material bore all the earmarks of a suppressed anti-trust case. At least one memorandum submitted at Thursday's hearing seems to have been prepared by the Department of Justice. "The aircraft-accessory industry today," this memorandum said, "suffers from a singular lack of sources of supply and is hampered by the pyramiding of production in critical items." This is attributed to a patent pool entered by General Motors and Bendix in 1929, the restrictive effects of which were intensified by an international agreement between Bendix and Siemens in 1937. Breech of Bendix admitted on the stand that, despite the war, this cartel agreement is still in effect. Its results have been to bar the export of certain vital accessories to Canada and Australia, to bring about collaboration between Bendix and the Germans in occupied France, and to limit supply in this country. Inter-office memos introduced in evidence referred to the Germans as "our northern friends," and in the last few minutes of Thursday's hearing a lawyer from Hughes, Hubbard, and Ewing, counsel for Bendix, gave the story away. He rose righteously to explain that Bendix had been under investigation by the Department of Justice for several months but had refused to enter into a consent decree because the department had insisted that certain patents be made available to all aircraft manufacturers.

Inquiry reveals that the case against Bendix has been mysteriously shut off within the department, probably by War and Navy Department pressure. This article is an appeal to Senator Bone and his colleagues of the Patents Committee to take up where the timid Vinson committee left off.

What About Italy?

BY CARLO SFORZA

FASCIST propaganda has been winning silent victories in America, one after another. The first was the miraculous transformation into high priests of "loyal Americanism" of a gang of writers and pseudo-writers who for years have poisoned the minds of 5,000,000 Italians and Italian-Americans; this was followed by the complacent acceptance by American officialdom of these dangerous fellows as allies in the greatest crisis of American history.

Another victory of Fascist propaganda is to be found in the strange success-of-curiosity of a book just published, "Agent in Italy." Serious books about present-day Italy have recently appeared here and in England; yet the only one about which hundreds of "important" people have spoken in glowing terms is a lurid description of an artificial Italy where, among blunderbusses and mandolins, hundreds of thousands of conspirators are said to be ready, etc. Perhaps its naive compiler did not set out to deceive; but this book is designed to spread an optimistic complacency about what "must" happen in Italy, thereby disposing of the necessity to decide, to work, to take risks. Moreover, the book conveys the idea —which the Fascists are very anxious to spread—that it is not necessary to pay any attention to the views of those Italians in exile who have proved through long sacrifice that their love of Italy is only equaled by their devotion to freedom because, according to "Agent in Italy," there is no contact between Italians abroad and Italians in Italy—when the happy truth is that our principal consolation for the life we have accepted as a sacred duty is the constantly growing communication and identity of feelings and ideas between ourselves and the most heroic Italians in the mother-country.

Fascist agents—of whom so many are still at work here and are not only free but respected—probably had less to do with another outstanding success which Mussolini's propaganda has had within the past week. I refer to the dispatch which stirred America with the news that the King, acting independently of the Duce, had at last summoned a Crown Council in Rome to discuss the situation. It gave rise at once to the most absurd conclusions, published at the risk of giving the world the false and humiliating impression that the most powerful of all the democracies was relying, for opposition to the Axis, on Italian institutions which did nothing to hinder Mussolini's criminal plunge into war in June, 1940, though the immense majority of the Italian people were opposed to fighting against France and Britain at the side of the hated German Reich.

On the day the dispatch appeared I was at Hamilton College, but dozens of joyful telephone calls reached me even there. A few (they were not from Italians)

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expressed the hope that I might fly at once to Rome to help the King in his "daring struggle against fascism!" Three days later disillusion came with Mussolini's visit to Hitler in Salzburg—no halfway meeting this time. From Salzburg Mussolini returned with a solid corps of Gestapo agents. The Duce sends tens of thousands of Italians to be killed in Russia, against the desires and the interests of Italy; Hitler reciprocates by providing him with Gestapo agents to defend his life against Italians—of whom not one, apparently, was interviewed by the author of "Agent in Italy." In Mussolini's eyes the bargain is highly satisfactory.

No hope, then, from Italy?

On the contrary there is hope, more perhaps than from any other invaded country; but it can be turned to account only if a moral atmosphere is created not only in Italy but in the world as a whole. Thanks to the heroism of the Russians, time is, for the present, working for us. But we have not a moment to lose. If it is essential that we open a new military front to aid the Russian resistance, it is just as important to create a moral front. Nothing can be done in Europe without this moral preparation; and that is why nothing could be less constructive than the recent book by a certain lieutenant colonel in which suggestions for an offensive in Italy were mingled with cheap disparaging remarks about the Italian nation.

What I have in mind when I speak of a moral offensive is something infinitely more important than radio broadcasts and leaflets citing Garibaldi's love for England and the United States. What is needed is not only appeals but commitments from those democratic leaders on whom Europe's millions rely for deliverance. New proof of this was given to me a few weeks ago, when I received responses solicited from Italians in Italy in broadcasts of mine discussing the Atlantic Charter. "Yes, you may be right," the answers ran. "You are certainly right in believing in Roosevelt's generous and humane intentions. But why are we not told by the chiefs of the democracies what they think about the future of Italy? To raise volunteers, to risk our lives, to risk much more, our honor, we must be sure that we are serving the cause of a free Italy and a free world."

Moreover, what I saw in 1917 in Italy and on the Macedonian front convinces me that what happened once may happen again. Even after so long a lapse of time nothing is more alive in my memory than my arrival on the right bank of the Piave a few days after the breaking of our front at Caporetto by the Austrians and the Germans and my emotion as I watched thousands of soldiers, practically without officers, digging trenches there because—so they told me with a certain "understatement" well known to those familiar with Italy before the days of pompous fascism—"we have to wait for them somewhere; why not here?" Such is the Italian soul which so many centuries have molded. We may seem depressed, dejected, but always a new spring of life, sometimes of heroic action, breaks forth again. But only in response to a moral incentive.

On the Macedonian front I saw an even more symbolic spectacle: the joyous emotion of our people and the perplexity and confusion of the Germans, Hungarians, and Bulgarians when we proclaimed Wilson's Fourteen Points with megaphones and leaflets dropped by airplanes. German and Magyar officers brought to us as prisoners no longer bluffed. Instead they asked humbly, "Is it really true what Wilson says? If it is, there is no longer any reason to fight." And the more daring added, "After all, why should we care about the Kaiser?"

It is a moral offensive along these lines that all Italians, all Europeans, and perhaps some Italians are anxiously waiting for. It is only as the result of such an offensive, more Wilsonian than Wilson, that the unfortunates whom Mussolini and Horthy and the Slovak traitors have sent to the slaughter in Russia will revolt, even though German machine-guns are trained on them.

Such a moral offensive would bring joy to 45,000,000

"The Americans' bombs fell directly on an old ladies' home. In observance of a period of mourning, railroad traffic will be suspended for several weeks."

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Italians; and the arms would drop from the hands of the Fascist bandits, as the lances and daggers fell at the feet of the guards at the Holy Sepulcher. Italy, Central Europe, the Balkans are today the Sepulcher. There can be a resurrection but not until the past is put behind us. For miracles we must look to the future.

Everyone knows that Roosevelt considers this a people's war that must end in a people's victory. What will happen in Italy—where nobody believes any longer in fascism—in France, in Spain; what will happen in the hearts of all the martyred masses of Europe, from Norway to Poland to Serbia and Greece, on the day Franklin Roosevelt rises and in the name of the greatest democracy in the world not only affirms the principles of freedom but puts forward a concrete program for achieving it?

Hitler's Slave Legions

BY HEINZ SOFFNER

THE Nazi chiefs are struggling desperately to overcome the labor shortage which threatens to slow up their war machine. And at the same time they are trying to complete the enslavement of the working classes throughout Europe in accordance with their long-range plans for the "New Order." A few weeks ago, at a meeting of employment experts in Berlin, Dr. Beisiegel, a department head in the Labor Ministry, presented an ambitious program for a continent-wide labor supply. Full use of Europe's natural resources, he explained, depends upon planned employment of the total European labor force, estimated by him at 255,000,000. He asked that steps be taken at once to utilize "surplus labor" all over Europe and to coordinate all labor-market regulations.

At present Germany is using many different—and partly conflicting—methods to satisfy its growing need of foreign labor. More than a million prisoners of war have been put to work. Contracts with foreign governments—Italy and Spain—provide about a half-million commandeered laborers. German governmental labor exchanges in the occupied countries recruit individuals on the spot. Foreign firms, complete with management and labor force, have been moved to Germany; last February the Labor Ministry transplanted French, Belgian, Dutch, and Danish building companies and French metal-industry factories. Some large private German concerns have recruiting offices of their own in the conquered territories; in neutral countries they rely on advertisements, circular letters, and such. In Sweden the Northern Liaison Organization tries to provide workers for Germany, especially for the building and airplane industries. Forced labor has been introduced in Poland and Czecho-Slovakia; it is cheap and it is a way to deprive those unruly nations of their intelligentsia. In order to make unskilled aliens more useful in Germany the Nazis provide training in numerous centers: in Poland twenty-nine special camps turn out builders and carpenters; in Rotterdam and Amsterdam training schools for metal workers have been established; through a recent agreement with the Bulgarian government the Nazis train young Bulgars for German airplane factories.

Contracts with "voluntary" foreign workers were originally for six months but are now for twelve at least. As soon as a worker from outside is assigned to a job in Germany, the occupation authorities in his home town cancel his ration card and issue him a new card only at his destination. Foreign workers are compelled to send a large part of their wages to their families at home; this also helps to keep down consumption in Germany. Once in a job, the alien worker must stay there. Leaving without permission brings a penalty of imprisonment for as much as ten years. Factory police, close supervision of all aliens in the Reich, and restrictions on travel combine to enforce these regulations. Moreover, every worker, German or alien, has an employment book which is deposited with the employer while the contract lasts. Both employer and labor exchange have to certify orderly discharge in this book, and no employer in Germany or outside may hire a worker without it.

If alien women workers are found to be pregnant, they are sent home immediately, in accordance with an order of the German Labor Ministry dated August 13, 1941. "Exceptions are allowed only if the employer attaches special importance to retaining the woman and is willing to provide accommodations for mother and child."

The Nazis not only use prisoners of war, contrary to international law, directly in war production, but also place them, as well as other non-German workers, in danger areas—especially areas which are regular targets of the R. A. F. At the Nazi-occupied port of Lorient 350 French workers hired by the occupation authorities were killed by bombs in one night last fall. About 3,000 Belgian workers in Germany have already died in R. A. F. attacks. Today a recruiting campaign is under way to procure French workers for the hard-hit German ports of Kiel and Hamburg.

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Jews, although in Nazi doctrine they are "unfit for productive work," are being made use of. In Lodz in Poland 80,000 Jewish workers are compelled to manufacture uniforms, boots, shirts, and other supplies for the Nazi army. Jews have been drafted as miners for the Kladno coal mines in Czecho-Slovakia. Throughout the Reich Jewish labor battalions toil on roads, make repairs after air raids, and do similar jobs.

The Nazis boast of granting alien workers the same rights and working conditions that German workers enjoy. Even if this were true, it would still mean a deterioration in the condition of many, since wages and living standards in the Reich, even before the war, were considerably lower than in most countries of Western or Northern Europe. Treatment of the alien workers is somewhat inconsistent owing to the conflict between the Nazi's desire for maximum output and their policy of degrading non-Germans below the master race. Social insurance, in which pre-Hitler Germany was markedly in advance of most European countries, has been extended to all foreign workers and to their families in the occupied countries, and a special department of the Nazi Labor Front, the Office of Labor Mobilization, has been created to take care of them. Recently 15,000 laborers from fourteen European countries were collected in Berlin's Sportpalast to be told by Dr. Ley, head of the Labor Front, that they were "the messengers of the new Europe." At the same time aliens are in many cases segregated in camps or in empty factory buildings and otherwise restricted in their movements. Italian laborers are often rigidly separated from the local German population. Fear of sabotage causes the Nazis to employ Russians only in groups of twenty. Polish workers have to wear a yellow square with a purple *P* on their breasts. By an order of October 1, 1941, the Labor Ministry disregards the provisions of the Juvenile Labor Protection Act for Poles of fourteen to eighteen years. Polish workers have a special tax of 15 per cent deducted from their wages. In their spare time they are confined to limited areas. They are forbidden to enter bars or restaurants. Their religious services must be conducted by German priests. The only "entertainment" they are allowed consists of Nazi propaganda films and war communiqués.

About 4,000,000 non-Germans work for the Nazis today within the pre-war boundaries of the Reich and many more outside these boundaries. In the conquered countries Nazi labor policy has been more circumspect than at home, but its ends have been the same. In Austria, though the country has been part of Greater Germany for four years, the labor situation receives a great deal of attention. Last February, during a campaign to increase industrial output, Gauleiter Baldur von Schirach made a tour of many Vienna factories, conversing affably with the workers and distributing free tickets for the state theater. He tried to sell the Nazi regime to the workers as "socialism" and promised them representation on the production committees to be set up in every war plant.

Wages in the conquered countries are usually "assimilated" to the much lower Reich level by the prevention of wage increases while prices and living costs go rapidly upward. In Luxembourg living costs increased 80 per cent before the end of 1941; wages were permitted to rise nominally 45 per cent, but on the average two-fifths of the pay is deducted for taxes and for levies by the municipality, the Nazi Party, and the Labor Front. In Denmark living costs increased 50 per cent between August, 1939, and August, 1941, while wages rose only 10 to 15 per cent. Wage increases have been forbidden by the Nazis in Norway in spite of 30 per cent higher living costs. Hitler's puppet Bulgarian government decreed this January that annual earnings may exceed the earnings of the preceding year by only 3 per cent. In Poland prices have soared to 500 per cent above the prewar level, but no wage increase has been authorized; on the contrary, Polish workers receive for a sixty-hour week only 80 per cent of what German workers get for a forty-eight-hour week.

Working hours have been lengthened everywhere. Practically no time limit is set for forced labor in the various "services." Young Norwegians, for instance, conscripted for military construction work in northern Norway, have to toil eighty-seven and one-half hours a week in seven shifts of twelve and one-half hours. Protesting workers are threatened with being sent to penal labor across the Finnish border. For privately employed Norwegians, too, Reich Commissioner Terboven has ordered a ten-hour working day. The skilled French workers in the automobile and airplane factories around Paris refused overtime work during many months but finally yielded when the Nazis began to pay for overtime with canned food, otherwise unobtainable in starving France.

Thus far the Nazis have dealt with the labor organizations in each occupied country separately and discriminatingly, several times changing their tactics. In Denmark they have not interfered officially with the once strong unions, which have nevertheless lost most of their bargaining power and independence. In Norway the unions were tolerated for a time, while unsuccessful attempts were made by the Quislings to gain control. A year after the invasion, however, many union officials were arrested, and last September, when workers' discontent led to a strike in Oslo, two union leaders were shot by a firing squad and many others sentenced to long prison terms. Odd Fossum, one of Quisling's henchmen, was finally set up as head of the Norwegian Federation of Labor.

In Holland many labor leaders were thrown into German concentration camps immediately after the invasion, and Reich Commissioner Seyss-Inquart appointed

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H. J. Wonderberg, chief of the labor division in the Dutch Nazi Party, commissioner of the Dutch Federation of Trade Unions. A year later the Christian Trade Unions were also compelled to join the Nazified federation. The result was a mass exodus of union members—only one-third remained in good standing. In reprisal the Nazi administration decreed that after January 1, 1942, unemployment benefits should be paid only through the Nazified unions.

In France the central bodies of the union movement have been dissolved, but local groups and regional federations still exist. On last January 1 the Vichy government promulgated a "labor charter" along the lines of the Italian corporative system, to which both Free and Christian trade unions objected vigorously in a joint manifesto. In the occupied zone a group of labor renegades have promoted a "French Labor Front" on the well-known Nazi pattern.

Evidence that the Nazi industrial war machine is beginning to suffer from a lack of man-power is seen in the successive steps the Nazis have been forced to take to stiffen their labor policy in the occupied countries. Where they expected voluntary cooperation, as in Belgium and Holland, they have been forced to introduce conscription of labor; where they intended to act indirectly, through "natives," as in Czecho-Slovakia, Latvia, and Norway, they have been forced to take over the labor unions completely. Originally preferring to exert merely economic pressure, they are now using more and more terror against restive labor—no fewer than 335 members of the destroyed unions have been murdered in the Bohemian Protectorate since Hitler's hangman, Heydrich, took over there.

The Nazis themselves admit lowered per capita output, but they ascribe it to food deficiency, British air raids, and similar "objective" causes. The French Mining Association reports that the average output of coal has declined 12 per cent since the armistice—but it declined one-third more in the occupied zone, which is still comparatively better fed, than in the unoccupied area. Passive resistance, go-slow methods, applied both in the Reich and in the conquered countries, probably damage the Nazi war effort more than spectacular acts of sabotage. Underground papers, such as *La Libération* in France, *Le Monde du Travail* and *L'Espoir* in Belgium, *Fri Fagbevegelse* in Norway, *Glos* in Poland, support this labor resistance.

The important question is, to what extent will the undeniable discontent and resistance of Europe's vast labor force actively contribute to Hitler's downfall? Wishful thinking about spontaneous uprisings must be discounted; the United Nations must take the initiative in loosening the grip of Hitler's terror upon his unwilling toilers. They must convince the workers of Europe that victory for the United Nations will bring social and economic security, and they must coordinate the underground opposition with military and political action from the outside.

Unconquered Malta

BY EDWIN BONICI

AN EDITOR to whom I talked a few weeks ago about an article on Malta hinted that it might be better to wait until the island fortress was conquered and then write a kind of obituary. I think he is going to wait a long time, and I say this as one who was born and brought up in Malta and knows that the strength of its fortifications is matched only by the toughness of its people. After suffering more than 2,000 raids, after taking the punishment of a greater weight of bombs than has been dropped on any comparable area in the world, the island is still carrying on and still hitting back, not only defensively but offensively.

Long ago Napoleon called Malta "the strongest island in all Europe." In terms of modern warfare it has been described by an Italian admiral as "an unsinkable aircraft carrier permanently anchored on Italy's doorstep." How right he is! And how often has Italy in the past two years felt the sting of the British planes which have hopped over from Malta to harass the airfields and harbors of Sicily and Calabria, and to prey on the convoys carrying reinforcements and supplies to the Axis armies in Libya! But it is not only from the air that the island has hit the enemy hard. Its deep bays provide bases for submarines which carry on constant warfare against Axis warships and merchantmen.

The first Italian attack on Malta came within twenty-four hours of Mussolini's declaration of war in May, 1940. Since then there have been few quiet intervals, and sometimes there have been as many as fifteen alerts in a single day. The Axis fliers have had to pay an enormous price. If they fly low enough to aim their bombs accurately they get caught in murderous ack-ack fire from batteries skilfully concealed all over the island and its small neighbor, Gozo. The concentration of anti-aircraft guns on Malta is perhaps the greatest in the world, and the gunners, many of whom are Maltese volunteers, have

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through constant practice developed a high degree of skill. Nor are ground defenses the island's only retort against raiders. Spitfires shooting out of underground hangars to give battle thousands of feet above the ground have sent hundreds of enemy machines crashing into the sea. Time and again the Rome and Berlin radios have joyfully announced that Malta was knocked out. The Axis airmen who have to fly over Malta know better; they say the experience is a foretaste of hell.

Just what damage the Axis bombs have caused on Malta is of course a military secret. We know that numerous churches and many of the famous palaces of the old Knights of Malta have been hit, and that thousands of homes and business buildings have been destroyed. Our houses in Malta are built of massive squared stones cut from the local quarries, with floors of cement or sometimes of marble. They are designed to stand for hundreds of years, but solid as they are, they cannot resist high explosives. They do, however, give protection against shell splinters, and since they have no wood in their construction they do not invite incendiary bombs.

No complete figures of casualties among the civilian population, which numbers a little over 250,000, have been published, but the losses are known to be heavy. The worst month of those for which any details are available was September of last year, when 350 persons were killed and 348 injured. In March of this year, when raids rose to a new peak, 230 deaths were reported.

The toll would have been far greater but for the splendid underground shelters. Malta consists of solid rock of a unique character. It is a kind of limestone which is easy to work but turns to granite hardness after exposure to the air. Below ground there is a labyrinth of caves and passages some of which date back to early Christian times. Others were constructed during the Middle Ages, when Malta withstood more than one famous siege by the Turks. These caverns have been enlarged to provide a place of safety for the whole population. Numerous openings make it possible to take cover rapidly and insure good ventilation, and subterranean arms of the sea help to solve the problem of sanitation. Underground, too, are natural bombproof storehouses where reserves of food and munitions can be kept safe from the enemy's destructive fury.

Malta has been a British stronghold since 1800, when the islanders, with the aid of the British fleet, rose against the garrison left there by Napoleon on his way to Egypt two years earlier. It was formally annexed with the consent of the Maltese by the Treaty of Paris in 1814, and since then it has been one of the great bases on which British naval power depends. The advent of the airplane led some people to believe the island had become useless as a fortified base. It is little more than twenty minutes by air from the nearest Italian airfields, and during the Ethiopian crisis Mussolini's propagandists boasted loudly it would be quickly knocked out in the event of war. Some British experts at that time advocated the abandonment of Malta if war broke out. But bolder counsels prevailed, and the modernization of the island's defenses was taken seriously in hand. The plans adopted presupposed of course active French cooperation and a close link with the French stronghold at Bizerte in Tunis. Since France fell, Malta has had to depend on its own resources supplemented by the convoys which fight their way through from Alexandria.

Malta's defenses against air attack have again and again demonstrated their effectiveness. Its defenses against an attack by sea have yet to meet a real test, for the Italian fleet has never ventured within the twenty-mile range of its huge guns. Once, and once only, on July 27, 1941, the Italians attempted to force their way into the harbor of Valetta with a fleet of E-boats escorting eight smaller torpedo-carrying craft. It was an opportunity for which the native gunners of the Royal Malta Artillery had been waiting. A simultaneous intensive bombing attack did not disturb the accuracy of their fire, and in short order every one of the torpedo-carriers was blown out of the water and at least nine E-boats were destroyed.

There have been reports from time to time that the Germans were assembling a huge fleet of troop-carrying planes in Sicily, hoping to capture Malta as they captured Crete. Perhaps they will still attempt this feat, but if they do I fully expect they will experience a costly failure. Malta together with Gozo is only 122 square miles in area and is almost entirely lacking in trees or other natural cover; so there would be little chance for parachutists to descend and organize undisturbed. Probably few of them would land at all, for the troop-carriers would make fine targets for the anti-aircraft gunners, and the men that did reach earth would find themselves tangled in a maze of stoutly held defenses and soon be on their way either to heaven or a prison camp.

To the traveler approaching from the sea Malta looks like a bare rock, but actually a considerable part of the island, and of Gozo as well, is cultivated, mostly in small holdings. Many kinds of fruits and vegetables grow abundantly, and local vineyards supply a fair *vin ordinaire*. The many bays provide good fishing, but the war has interfered with the tuna catch and deprived the islanders of a favorite dish. Most grain has to be imported, as well as meat and butter. So far Malta has not gone hungry, for periodically the convoys have come through, though not without losses, bringing to the besieged fortress not only food but the huge quantities of munitions and gasoline needed for its continued defense. There is little danger of a water shortage such as afflicted Hongkong and Singapore. Possibly the main water system of the island has been damaged, but there are good springs to fall back on, and most houses have big cisterns

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cut in the rock to collect water from the roofs during the prolonged rainy season.

We Maltese can hardly claim to be a pure race though we like to think we still show a strong strain of the original Phoenician inhabitants. As the family names indicate, people from many Mediterranean countries have at one time or another settled in the island, some seeking sanctuary, some saved from shipwrecks, some just drifting to our shores as men drift to any port of call. During the last century many Italians immigrated and were made welcome. They fitted into the community without difficulty and were contented enough until the Fascist government began systematic agitation among Italians living abroad.

Mussolini has always thought that Malta, so near to Italy and so essential to the control of *mare nostrum*, ought to be part of the Fascist empire even though historically it has never been Italian. During the long regime of the Knights of Malta there was a close connection between the island and the Papal court, and Italian was the legal language. Under the British, Italian long enjoyed equality with English in the courts and schools, but a few years ago Maltese, always the main language of the people, was given legal and educational status. This decision provoked a fierce political contest, one of the island's two leading parties battling for the restoration of Italian. The Fascists naturally made the most of this opportunity to promote their propaganda, and a tense situation continued until the British government decided to suspend the constitution and return the island—first granted self-government in 1919—to the position of a Crown Colony. This step aroused little antagonism among the people, especially since it was accompanied by real efforts to promote economic prosperity and social reform.

On the whole, our relations with the British have been amiable. They have brought us comparative prosperity and given us religious tolerance and legal security. Even the pro-Italian minority was never really anxious to exchange British control for Fascist rule, and after suffering from Italian bombs and witnessing the degraded state of Italy under the heel of the Gestapo, it has joined loyally in defense of the island.

Malta stands and will continue to stand because its people are determined never to surrender. They are responsible for a large part of the island's defenses, and in addition many of them are in the British navy. Thousands of others work in the dockyards and the arsenal, which has trained some of the finest mechanics in the world. They showed their mettle when the aircraft carrier Illustrious limped into Valetta harbor after a tremendous hammering from Axis dive-bombers. Within three days she was patched up and able to sail safely to Alexandria under her own steam.

The heroic resistance of Malta was uniquely recognized a few weeks ago when King George conferred on the whole population of the island the George medal, the highest British award for civilian gallantry. That has been a source of pride and satisfaction to the many Maltese who now live in the United States. And I am certain that my people at home, who have remained so steadfast under fire, will be assured by this sign that they have not been forgotten and that, indeed, the whole world is watching them with admiration.

Indictments Pull the Triggers

AN OPEN ANSWER TO JAMES N. ROSENBERG

DEAR JIM: Your letter to me in last week's *Nation* entitled Words Are Triggers correctly quotes the statements for which Christians, Noble, and Jones have been indicted, and with your usual restraint you even omitted what to me seem to be some of the most vicious of their utterances. The gist of your letter is in your rhetorical question, "I ask you whether you seriously hold that they [these statements] are mere expressions of 'opinion alone.'" Just that. I take instances: "Germany and Mr. Quisling are doing a fine job of liberating the Norwegians from the aggressions of England"; "The Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor was the 'proper thing.'" Let me ask you, Is it or should it be a crime to say that the British are fighting not for freedom but to maintain their empire; that the débâcle in the Far East has been due to the fact that the British have not freed the natives; that the Russian armies—which have put up such a magnificent fight—are interested not in freedom but in communism and the rule of Stalin; that the Russians will come to terms with the Germans whenever they deem it wise?

Yet the tendency and perhaps the purpose of any of the foregoing statements would be to weaken this country's morale, to discourage recruiting, to help the enemy. In the event of indictment because of such statements, a defendant in time of war is certain to be found guilty. In the last war men were convicted for saying that we should have a capital tax, that the war was imperialistic, that the House of Morgan was saved by our entry into the war. In such times all that the government needs is

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a charge and a defendant. Our patriotic juries with sons in the service are sure to do the rest.

Fortunately, in our law the question of legality of utterances does not depend upon the general tendency or effect of language but upon the question of whether or not there is direct incitement to unlawful act. The line must be drawn here, or you have an end of free speech, which, as Judge Cardozo once remarked, is the "indispensable condition of nearly every other form of freedom."

You refer to the Schenck decision, which merely held that language must be considered in the background of conditions and is punishable if it creates a "clear and present danger" of unlawful conduct. As analyzed in a recent case (*Bridges* v. *United States*), decided the day after the outbreak of this war, "the substantive evil must be extremely serious and the degree of imminence extremely high before utterances can be punished."

I like the little schoolgirl who, when a schoolmate said the Germans would win the war, answered, "Pfui!" The so-called seditious statements for which these men were indicted have now been publicized all over the country. Thus their propaganda, which originally reached a few people, has now, with whatever effect it might have, reached millions. Is it not fair to assume that we are influenced not so much by fear of this propaganda as by a desire to "get" the propagandists? Do I object seriously to these men going to jail? Far from it—but of course that is not the point.

What is the effect of these prosecutions? *The Nation*, with a liberal tradition which has earned it the condemnation of Martin Dies, proposed, and effectively, that the government put *Social Justice* out of business. The *New Masses* is after the Chicago *Tribune* and Colonel McCormick. Numerous complaints have been made against the *Daily News*. Even the *Saturday Evening Post* is under fire. The *New Republic* published a letter in which the writer stated that the theory underlying Catholicism conditions its members toward fascism. Others say that the Jews are likely to turn toward communism. The Irish papers say we are supporting British imperialism. Personally, I particularly dislike the propaganda of Martin Dies, even when it is approved by Hitler and Goebbels. Where would all of this bring us? Different groups have different prejudices. We would all be caviling at one another. The result would be to stir up resentment, hatred, fear, and make issues of matters that are relatively dormant, issues that would divert us from the one effort on which the country as a whole is united—the winning of the war.

At the end of a talk at a forum the other night, one of the audience said that my views were dangerous and that I should be curbed in time of war. I stated that no doubt he and many others in the audience would like to put me in jail. I suggested that if this were done, the people in the audience probably would be about equally divided between my prosecutors and my supporters, that they would become disunited, that their attention would be diverted from the one thing on which they all agree, the necessity of victory.

I believe in the right of free speech, not only as an ideal, but as a practical matter. I believe that democracy works. I believe—and here we may differ—that the rationale of freedom applies particularly in time of stress. Both of us today have one aim—victory over the menace that threatens all freedom. For my part, I think our war effort will be hampered by suppression.

We should not forget that criticism and a free public opinion are essential to promote the best efforts of our leaders. Not only this, but expression relieves emotion. Those who feel strongly in dissent are far less likely to act if they are permitted to talk. It is rare that those who express themselves are dangerous. The greatest harm that results from suppressing a small number of extremists is that you keep millions of reasonable men from expressing themselves. Further, it is better to have open than underground propaganda. Finally, when you let people alone, you do not have the fear, suspicion, and hate that lead to amateur espionage of dinner-table conversations and cause neighbor to watch neighbor. The unity aroused in us by the dastardly Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and the German declaration of war may be considerably disrupted if we begin to snipe at one another because of differing views. Of course, under a free system we do not seem to have the unity of a dictatorship nation, but that is only because we have free speech, press, and assemblage.

But you say, let's leave this to Francis Biddle, a man who has the friendship, respect, and admiration of both of us. I am thankful he is the Attorney General. He started out with the statement that the war brought an attack upon the principles of the Bill of Rights. "Every American must remember that the war we wage today is in defense of these principles. It therefore behooves us to guard most zealously these principles at home." You yourself say, "Until months after Pearl Harbor Biddle held to the position to which prior to the war you and I adhered."

But do you have in mind that Biddle is a public official, that our officials are subject to constant pressure, that their natural desire is to promote national unity, and that they may well feel that where there is a tremendous public demand for suppression of vicious opinion—a demand joined in even by reasonable men like yourself—the country is likely to be more unified if they respond, at least to some extent, to that demand? They are likely to start with cases where public opinion seems to be behind them almost unanimously, and gradually, as in the last war, to go farther as the hysteria increases.

Why the fear? The country is united as never before.

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Practically the entire radio, the press, the theater, and the pulpits, all the movies, schools, colleges, and public institutions are for an all-out war effort. If all of this cannot drown out the voice of dissent, we are in a sorry mess indeed. I have faith in the common sense of our people. It would be a sad day if Americans came to suspect that their unity is enforced.

ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS

[*The Civil Liberties Union has protested against prosecutions by the Department of Justice on charges of violation of the 1917 war-time Espionage Act. It has asked men and women, among them Mr. Rosenberg, who have in peace time steadfastly fought for free discussion as "implicit in the concept of ordered liberty" to join its protest. In an open letter to Mr. Hays, counsel for the Civil Liberties Union, published in* The Nation *last week, Mr. Rosenberg, to whose views we subscribe, stated why he supports Mr. Biddle's course. Mr. Rosenberg's rebuttal of Mr. Hays's "open answer" appears on page 555.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Children in War Time

BY EDNA BLUE

FOR the past five and a half years I have made a careful study of European children adjusting themselves to the new life into which they have been plunged by the strains and terrors of war. A brief account of their reaction to bombings and to separation from their parents may prove useful to those who are studying the problems that American children must face if raids come to this country.

It is a far greater shock for a child to be separated from his parents than to experience a bombardment. Fear of the unknown worries children more than anything else. Those who have lived through bombardments have been heard to comfort others who are for the first time experiencing the terror of a raid. But much more comforting is needed by the child who has suffered sudden and enforced separation from his mother, for each new event seems fearsome when his mother is not there to give him confidence.

Because fear is largely communicated to the child by adults, a child's sense of security in a country at war becomes a matter of adult education. It is surprising how little the children of calm parents are affected by sirens, bombs, guns, or all-clears. Women who develop sharp anxiety during bombardments, who pull their children out of bed and stand around trembling, quickly communicate their nervousness to the child. The first step, therefore, is to combat the panic of mothers by forming intelligent plans before the bombs strike. Once parents are convinced that the responsibility of their children's safety and welfare does not depend upon them alone, they worry less, their better state of mind is reflected in the children, and the nation's morale is improved.

Since the war may last for years, any plans made for children should cover the whole period of childhood and should include no temporary billeting or overcrowded evacuation centers. A new life must be planned for the child, but this life must be as normal as possible; and a normal life cannot be created unless the child feels the security that comes from association with a permanent home or a permanent "substitute home." Being buffeted about from place to place destroys all sense of security. Organized hostels have a definite place in countries at war, but they should not be simply children's hostels. Mothers should be included whenever possible. I quote a letter from a child psychologist who has worked in children's nurseries in England ever since the war started:

> Years ago I would have said that the small child would be perfectly happy and perfectly well, and in many ways on the road to become a better citizen and individual, if he were taken away early from his family and placed in what theorists would call a perfect environment. But after living twenty-one months with an evacuated nursery school I have come to eat my words. Our children here, who are all between two and five years of age, live in an almost perfect nurture. They have beautiful rooms to sleep in, excellent food, even in war time, and expert attention. And yet while they look healthy enough, they seem in some strange ways almost to go backward instead of forward. They return to babyish habits and develop petulant displays of temper which normally they would most probably have left behind them. I am sure it is because they are missing the great essential of personal love, which with all the good-will in the world, we cannot give to them. Once I would have said that a good institution was better than a poor home. But I now say that almost the worst home is better than the most finely equipped institution.

This woman has swung to an extreme. I believe a middle way should be found.

Some semblance of family life must be retained in hostels for mothers and children, or the women will not remain. They are likely to take their children and return home even if home is only a heap of ashes. Arrangements must be made for fathers to visit the hostel. If they are

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in the army or navy, their visits will not be frequent; if they live near, they should be permitted to come as often as they can.

Very successful war-time nurseries are now being conducted in England by Mrs. J. B. Priestley and Miss Anna Freud for the Foster Parents' Plan for War Children. Right from the start of the war this organization realized the importance of family life and made arrangements for little families to get together for the week-end, even to the extent of the wife once again cooking breakfast for the family. A portion of the nursery is theirs for the time being; the father stays overnight; and if there are older children in other hostels, they come also, and the family spends a real week-end together.

Miss Freud reports that once a mother and father learn that they may visit their children at any time, that they may feed them, bathe them, put them to bed—that they still have their baby in all ways—they eagerly bring their children to the nurseries. Not one woman from these homes has taken her children back to an unfit house or dangerous area. Many thousands, however, have been unhappy in other hostels and refused to stay.

There is little difference in children, whatever their nationality. Home life is what the child cherishes most in all the world. If he is separated from his father and mother, he yearns for them constantly, and sisters and brothers become closer than under ordinary circumstances. Unselfishness becomes a marked characteristic of a child who has suffered in this way. He is anxious to share with other children any material things or kindnesses he receives when life is being reconstructed for him. I have also found that it is a fallacy to think that children do not worry. I have often seen little ones of seven and eight worry just as any older person might. "What is to become of us?" is constantly on their minds. Children of all nationalities understand what the war is about, and although they all hate it they know that it must go on. Almost every child that has come under our care has been through bombardments. Without exception these children want to help in the war effort. All the refugee children have a fervent desire to return to their homes some day and live as they used to, but many have said they would rather die than return to live under Hitler's domination. This is not child's talk. These children have heard the boots of the Brown Shirts on the pavement in front of their doors.

Raids do leave their marks, but not such deep ones as some people think. After a raid the children are noisy and talk loudly. They argue a little more than usual and play with more energy. But this soon passes. Cases of actual "bomb shock" among children are very rare.

If raids come to American cities we shall have to face essentially the same problems that were encountered in other countries. We can solve those problems by careful planning based on the experience of Europe's children. Katharine F. Lenroot, chief of the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor, has said: "The health of our children is one of the three major concerns of the country. The other two are the American fighting front and the production of needed war materials." Surely, then, it should be unthinkable to leave war-time plans for our children in the hands of private committees or organizations. The job can be carried out as it should be only by a bureau created by the United States government.

In the Wind

THE LATEST ARRIVAL among the leaders of native fascist movements is Davis Baxter of Colton, California. Baxter's organization, the Social Republic Society of America, is unblushingly pro-Nazi. Calling themselves "Socis," the members of his group are all supposed to be armed and to maintain, in their local headquarters, small arsenals. They speak in public for an immediate peace and say of themselves, "Only one little nationalist group, the Social Republic Society, with headquarters in California, Chicago, and New York, is preparing for revolution."

WHEN INDIGNANT LISTENERS forced Station KMTR of Los Angeles to drop the pro-Nazi broadcasts of the Reverend Bob Shuler, the station executives at the same time dropped their one pro-Ally speaker, Ed Robbins.

WILLIAM LEMKE, Presidential candidate of Father Coughlin's Union Party in 1936, has turned up as the lawyer for 300 Kansas farmers who are suing the government over the validity of AAA marketing quotas for wheat.

IN PLACE of a regular headline announcing the American bombing of Tokyo, the Oakland, California, *Post-Enquirer* used a row of frightened Japanese looking up at the sky, their hair standing on end.

ELEANOR PATTERSON'S Washington *Times-Herald* has been using more space to discredit Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen than their column gets in the paper. In the issue of April 28 four columns were devoted to reprinting criticisms of General MacArthur written by Pearson and Allen when MacArthur, as Chief of Staff, drove the bonus marchers from the capital. But the trick backfired. Hundreds of readers canceled their subscriptions because they believed the *Times-Herald* was itself attacking General MacArthur.

WHEN DR. GOEBBELS visited Prague recently, Czech railroad workers knew not only the exact moment of his arrival but all the details of a wild party that took place in the Propaganda Minister's special car. The affair was common gossip all over the city a short time after Goebbels arrived.

[*The $5 prize for the best item received in April goes to Private A of Fort Bragg, North Carolina, for his story about army race relations, published on April 25.*]

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BOOKS and the ARTS

The Use of Ideals

THE GATES OF AULIS. By Gladys Schmitt. The Dial Press. $2.75.

THE title of this novel is perhaps not accurately descriptive, for the story deals with the legend of Tauris rather than with that of Aulis, with sacrifices escaped rather than with sacrifices consummated; its Orestes and Iphigenia learn to overcome the self-sacrificial impulses which seem to give them strength but which actually serve their weaknesses. Carl Hasselmann, a radical sociologist, is in a perpetual censorious worry about political integrity and therefore cannot act politically. His sister Ellie worships absolute notions of tragedy and morality and therefore cannot paint truly. They are able to follow their proper destinies only when they acknowledge the multitudinous conditions of human nature and admit their right to their own selves and their own happiness.

Miss Schmitt's first novel is serious and ambitious. Its manner heavily obscures its merit, but if you stand well back from it and manage to see through its verbiage and its lumpy lyricism, you cannot help finding it in some ways admirable. For one thing, it is a relief that the author portrays and judges unhappy intellectuals with what the jacket blurb rightly calls "respect and tenderness." But more important is the courageous perception on which the novel is based. "Selflessness" and self-sacrifice are perhaps the two most admired modern virtues, and contemporary novelists have seldom dared to bring them into question. In a world in which virtue seems both uncertain in its nature and rare in its occurrence, it still appears to be indubitably virtuous to consecrate oneself to a cause from which little gain and possibly much hardship are to be expected. The conscience of the literate middle class is obsessed with the ideal of selflessness; to this group morality always presents itself as a reproach for crassness and as a desire to give up everything for art, science, and humanity. It likes to have a quota of dedicated spirits in its life and in its literature, and though it long ago learned to suspect that there are "real reasons" behind, say, religious fervor, it prefers to hold unquestionable the motives of secular dedication.

Yet it is certainly true, as Miss Schmitt sees, that behind much selfless action there lies self-seeking or self-justification or self-destruction. This ambiguity of motive, this *use* of idealism, is perhaps the special modern confusion. The love of humanity generates its own problems and its own vices; the love of truth has its own insensibilities. Often, by hating vice too much, as Burke said, we come to love men too little; and a convenient excuse for loving men too little is to hate the vice of certain men a great deal. To understand this does not, of course, deny the value of dedication; it simply implies that there is an ethics of dedication, that choice of the moral course does not settle the quality of one's morality: there is, as it were, a morality of morality. The nineteenth century understood better than we do how selflessness can be the most effective form of pride, that it can be marked by a cold censoriousness, by a negation and an arrogance which must sooner or later qualify the art or the political action it produces. Hawthorne often dealt with this insight; so did Nietzsche; and Ibsen, having himself announced the claims of the ideal, told us, in "The Wild Duck," how the ideal may be distorted to serve personal wilfulness.

Unfortunately, Miss Schmitt's novel is not up to the importance of her theme. It is impossibly wordy, by which I do not mean merely that it has too many words (though it has) but that the words have an improper part in the creation. We are told that Miss Schmitt has consciously modeled herself on Proust and Mann, but she reminds us of neither of these writers, who are discursive but not wordy; rather, she seems to be in the line of the three most tiresome of modern verbalists, Dorothy Richardson, Waldo Frank, and Thomas Wolfe. These writers hold in common a belief in the power of words to render, by sheer weight of numbers, every possible shade of sensibility. The result of this belief is that their ever-accumulating sentences dissolve the solid world; we have the uncomfortable feeling that they never credit us with knowing what anything is like and that in their insistence on overwhelming us with complete information they are trying in a very aggressive way to substitute their sensibility for the world. Miss Schmitt does not go quite so far, but she goes far enough. She can write sentences as simple and precise as this: "Only in the attic rooms, where maids undressed and stood before imperfect mirrors, were there any patches of light." But most of her narrative moves like this:

> I am going, he thinks, from the place of my unfruitfulness to my rightful station upon the face of the earth. These hills are nothing to me, my haste dismisses them, I go with the purpose and the speed of a planet. Virile, conscious of the miracle of my consciousness, I make a white cleft in the night with my flying face; I take direction with speed and go triumphantly home.

The corrective for such prose is not an ideal of spare, cold economy: the novel is a discursive form, it needs expansiveness and it needs full language. For the bad lyricism of sensibility which Miss Schmitt uses, the corrective is story. Only through plot and action can the novel truly realize an idea. The novelist may be infinitely discursive and expository if, like Henry James, he is always reminding himself to "dramatize, dramatize"; if he subordinates everything to the demands of the dramatic element, he can usually count on the elements of language and sensibility to take care of themselves and to have the right proportion. But a novelist like Miss Schmitt depends upon sensibility to do the work of drama. And from a sensibility as insistent and aggressive as Miss Schmitt's we inevitably try to escape; after a few score pages our eyes learn to skip the passages of high, conscious language—we want to get on with the story. The saving grace of Miss Schmitt's novel is that it has, after all, at least the outline of a good story beneath all its verbiage.

LIONEL TRILLING

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The Problem of Japan

GOODBYE JAPAN. By Joseph Newman. L. B. Fischer Publishing Corporation. $2.50.

OUR ENEMY JAPAN. By Wilfrid Fleisher. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $2.

HOW JAPAN PLANS TO WIN. By Kinoaki Matsuo. Little, Brown and Company. $2.50.

JAPAN: A WORLD PROBLEM. By H. J. Timperley. The John Day Company. $1.75.

A CONSIDERABLE amount of thought has been given to the problem of how to deal with Germany after the war. But thus far we have had little discussion of the equally difficult problem of what to do about Japan. All observers are agreed that Japan is a nation apart. Its history, customs, traditions, and present psychology ill fit it for citizenship in an organized, peaceful world. None of the recent books on Japan have brought out that country's abnormalities more vividly than "Goodbye Japan" by Joseph Newman, who until just before the outbreak of the war served as the correspondent of the New York *Herald Tribune* in Tokyo. Newman shows how Japan's unique political structure has contributed to control by the militarists, how the principles of aggression have been rooted in Japanese thought for more than 2,600 years, and how the Japanese cleverly concealed their aggressive intentions toward the Western democracies by elaborate entertainment of foreign, particularly American, public figures and by building a façade of brazen deceit with talk about a "new order for securing the lasting peace of the world." He also shows the other side of the picture: how Japan's aggressive policies have already led to a lowering of the people's standard of living and to a sharp increase of tuberculosis, rickets, trachoma, and myopia.

Wilfred Fleisher's brief picture of Japan closely parallels that of his fellow *Herald Tribune* correspondent, but as he was stationed in this country in the months immediately preceding the war he deals at some length with the duplicity of Japan's final "negotiations" with the United States. Both writers make it quite clear that Japan's action in entering the war on the side of the Axis was prompted by indigenous Japanese dreams of imperialism and was not the result of orders from Berlin.

A key to the type of mind which has developed in Japan as a result of its centuries of militarist tradition is provided in Kinoaki Matsuo's remarkable forecast of the American-Japanese war. Matsuo's book was published in Tokyo in 1940, and the text was stolen by Korean agents and translated for publication by Kilsoo K. Haan, a Korean stationed in Washington. It presents a fairly accurate time-table of the Japanese moves in the war, but its military value is secondary to its unwitting disclosures regarding the limited, though shrewd, operation of the Japanese military mind.

Mr. Timperley probes the origins of Japanese militarism much more deeply than any other contemporary writer. He finds that the urge for expansion at the expense of Japan's neighbors antedates by some centuries the Meiji Restoration of 1868. He points out that Japanese pirates have been terrorizing the China Sea since 1260 A.D. and that systematic raids on the coasts of Korea, China, Siam, and the Philippines began in the sixteenth century. There was a period of respite during the two and a half centuries of seclusion under the Tokugawa rule, but the expansionist spirit was revived again in the middle of the nineteenth century under the inspiration of the great nationalist philosopher Shoin Yoshida. In recent years Japanese thinking has fallen more and more under the spell of the sixteenth- and nineteenth-century nationalists. Like the Nazis, the present-day Japanese have acquired a mystical sense of their mission to bring order and truth to the rest of the world by means of the sword.

It is evident that the psychological basis of Japanese aggression will not be destroyed by a military defeat. On the contrary, it is likely to be aggravated. Great care and wisdom, therefore, must be exercised in working out the peace terms for the Pacific. As in the case of an individual, regeneration must come from within; it cannot be imposed from without. But since the democratic forces within Japan are extraordinarily feeble, Mr. Timperley points out that the world will have to insist on certain safeguards to prevent Japan from once more seizing military supremacy in East Asia. China will have to be strengthened by the return of Manchuria, Formosa, and all other territories taken from it by Japan. Korea should be restored to freedom, and the Japanese should be forced to cede the Marshall, Bonin, and other island bases used in the attack on the West.

This, Timperley readily admits, will be a bitter pill for Japan to swallow. But he would "sugarcoat" it by offering Japan free access to raw materials and even some special privileges in China provided Japan introduced a measure of social reform and sought to readjust its distorted, ill-balanced economic system. It is doubtful whether the sugarcoating will be effective, but it should be tried. A basic cure for Japan's international delinquency—and Germany's—probably depends on our ability to create and enforce a genuine system of world law after the war. This cannot be imposed from without but must be built by the cooperative efforts of the people of all countries, including the Japanese. So far no one has even sketched an outline of such a program applicable to the Far East. MAXWELL S. STEWART

American Writing by Negroes

THE NEGRO CARAVAN: WRITINGS BY AMERICAN NEGROES. Selected and Edited by Sterling A. Brown, Arthur P. Davis, and Ulysses Lee. The Dryden Press. $4.25.

BACK in the twenties books about Negroes and by Negroes were welcomed with an uncritical enthusiasm that was as harmful to the writers as it was essentially false because it was based on the assumption, which many of the books exploited, that Negro life was different from white life. The old stereotyped notions of Negro life and character persisted. What the present collection should establish once and for all is the identity of writing by Negroes, in all fields of expression, with American writing in general. Negro writing is from beginning to end part and parcel of American literature in derivation and tendency, in form, content, and intention. Such characteristics as the mingling of deep emotion and humor, the feeling for legend, and

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the note of defeat and protest are not exclusively Negro, as they are commonly considered to be, but are basic elements of the folk and literary tradition of the country, of already assimilated minorities. Although it would be foolish to deny that the spirituals belong to the Negro, they have their counterparts in the folk culture of white Americans, even as the popularity of swing music, which translates folk feeling into new rhythms, would not be possible if that music were not related to the traditional elements of a larger American culture. The Negro, as a minority, naturally takes on the culture he lives in, while at the same time he influences it.

It is because the editors see the problems of the Negro and the Negro writer as an integral part of American life that this anthology is important in the history of the American Negro. They reject the term "Negro literature" and demand a single standard of criticism. More than 100 of almost 1,100 pages consist of an excellent history and evaluation of all phases of Negro writing. There are poems, short stories, selections from novels, drama, and folk literature, well-chosen examples of biographical writing, and historical, cultural, and personal essays, but I liked best the speeches, pamphlets, and letters, and the social essays. Of these the best pieces were written by past or present members of the faculty of Howard University, with one notable exception—Charles S. Johnson of Fisk.

The caravan makes its way from David Walker's "Appeal" of 1829, Frederick Douglass's "Letter to His Master" of 1848, Booker T. Washington's compromising optimism, and Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association to E. Simms Campbell's "Early Jam" and Richard Wright's "The Ethics of Living Jim Crow." Some of the stages on the way are the plantation, the underground railroad, the Civil War, Reconstruction, the share-cropper, the courts, the ballot box, the school, the union, the "new Negro." This caravan moves; and it succeeds not only in presenting a history of the Negro in his own words but in clarifying the complex pattern of American life. Its value lies in the tremendous vitality it compresses and in the understanding it communicates of a common heritage.

Although Negroes have published more books of poetry than of any other literary form, the poetry section is by far the dreariest stretch of the route. The poets escape from themselves into protest, rhetoric, or decorum; they know what they want to say before they write, and consequently any poetic meaning they might transmit remains caged within them. A good deal of the more recent poetry is merely watered Whitman, the prose catalogue that runs on and on. It does not stand comparison, for instance, with this line from a prose folk tale, "My heart beneath my knees and my knees in some lonesome valley," or this from a folk sermon printed as verse, "Two thousand years have went by on their rusty ankles." I don't mean to suggest that poets should go back to spirituals and folk stuff. Rather, it seems to me that in continuing to draw from already crystallized modes of expression they sometimes try to eke out an emotion they no longer really feel. That is perhaps why some of the lyrics have the ineffectiveness of the words of a song without the music; the naturally lyrical poets still hear a music that does not grow out of the words they write but determines them, thus depriving the words of a direct relationship to the experience. This is equally true of the use of jazz rhythms and of dialect. There is another factor—the Negro writer is liable to be trapped by the very stereotypes he fights against simply because they are still attributed to him by the reading public. Despite the excellence of some of the prose selections, there too the experience of the Negro is not deeply explored. It remains to be written, but first it must be understood. The same lack of self-knowledge and understanding is endemic in American writing as a whole and is especially reflected in the incomplete portrayal of character.

H. P. LAZARUS

The Kernan Thesis

DEFENSE WILL NOT WIN THE WAR. By Lieutenant Colonel W. F. Kernan. Little, Brown and Company. $1.50.

A NOTED columnist was saying the other day that two parties seem to be forming in the United States, the parties of defense and attack. On the defense side the isolationists and appeasers, with the goal of a negotiated peace in their minds, are working for a *Sitzkrieg*. Taking advantage of distrust, prejudice, and fear, as well as the natural shrinking from the human cost of war felt by courageous men, the appeasers have made propaganda to which, so far, the advocates of an offensive have not offered an effective reply.

In this state of affairs almost any kind of demand for aggressive action would have value, even though some of its arguments might appear faulty. Lieutenant Colonel Kernan's book is a case in point. Lucidly and persuasively written, it serves as a bracing tonic against the malady of defensism. It marks clearly every blind alley and side path of evasion that might lead to defeat.

The book was written, of course, neither for the soldier nor for the professed student of politics. Since its allusions to military and political history are not more numerous or detailed than is required to persuade the general reader, it might be thought that the book should be discussed at its own avowed level. Yet one feels that it might have been improved as popular instruction. There are even a few dangers in the book, and some of its summaries are misleadingly brief. As the author says, Hitler took full advantage of the weakness of the democracies, of their lack of decision in the matter of offensive action. That indecision sprang from the fact that "in every democracy on earth the paramount object of policy was avoidance of war." The peacefully inclined governments would neither federate nor arm, much less do both. Long ago Machiavelli put the matter succinctly when he wrote that the Roman Empire owed its endurance to its policy of never waiting until war became inevitable, of never waiting until it was attacked. Rome, the adviser of princes pointed out, always went out to meet rebellion against its peace while that rebellion was still feeble and disunited. In 1933-34 the Roman solution, and Lieutenant Colonel Kernan's, one imagines, would have been to invade Germany and overthrow Hitler. The balance-of-power policy prevented such a solution. It is in the brevity, one might say in the crudity, of the truth that a certain danger resides.

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That the argument may cause post-war trust to be reposed in mere force is apparent. What is valuable, however, is the author's tracing of the defensive outlook to the circumstances inherent in an unfederated world.

But such an analysis is insufficient, especially when it is followed by the mistaken argument contained in the chapter Mahan Was Wrong. The naval tradition of Britain and the United States is not necessarily connected with the rejection of offensive warfare. It is altogether sound to insist that navies cannot preserve peace or of themselves achieve victory. To the extent that people expect them to do so, trust in sea power is dangerous. It is none the less an extravagance to say that until 1940 it was believed in England that "sea power was sufficient to uphold Western civilization until the end of time." Nor does one feel much force in the chapter entitled The Staff Complex. At one point the author seems to be arguing that the capacity for initiative was lost because true generalship had been crushed by the overdevelopment of staff work. Following Foch, the author opposes *élan* to planning. But surely the staff work of the German army is not meager. It is probably voluminous. The important thing is that its methods are adapted to the technique imposed by modern arms.

The criticism brings me to the principal defect of the book. That it was not merely the desire for peace that gave rise to "defensism" Lieutenant Colonel Kernan repeatedly explains. He says, all too cursorily, that it was the vast human expense of the 1915-18 campaigns that gave rise to defensive theories. The machine-gun had paralyzed movement and made of warfare a ruinous attrition. And when 1918 at last produced a successful offensive, the German surrender was due to exhaustion, the previous collapse of the Balkans, and the arrival of great American armies. With the technique of 1915-18 the offense needed to be three times as strong as the defense. That was the realization that vitiated British and French military thinking. The democratic general staffs stayed in schools and learned nothing. The German staff discovered new methods. The gasoline engine, correctly used, puts offense upon a level with defense. Lieutenant Colonel Kernan dwells much too briefly upon this question of technique. There is no need to add that the author is well aware of this, but it is still true that had he shown, as a page of simple technicalities would have done, that the only real answer to a blitz is another blitz, his case for the offensive would have been even stronger.

The reviewer confesses that he has little patience with the chapter called The Restoration of Strategy. Without a far more extensive survey of the problem, the suggestion that Italy offers the best theater for mounting an invasion cannot convince. Finally, while the author is a democrat, his last chapter, On the Dangers of Warfare by Committee, is likely to be useful to men who are pro-fascist. His references to political plots during the first World War, plots which he seems to think were designed merely to keep offense-minded generals out of command, are altogether too crude. In any case, no one can be more political than your ambitious general. Nor is ability an invariable companion to aggressiveness. What is needed is intelligent political leadership, served by generals who have mastered modern technique.

RALPH BATES

A Disciple of Aristippus

HOUSMAN, 1897-1936. By Grant Richards. With an Introduction by Mrs. E. W. Symons and Appendices by G. B. A. Fletcher and Others. Oxford University Press. $4.

HERE is Alfred Edward Housman as seen, from 1897 to 1936, through the devoted if not unduly penetrating eyes of his publisher, Grant Richards. In addition to his own text Mr. Richards includes an introduction by the poet's younger sister Katharine (Mrs. E. W. Symons), various illustrations, and no fewer than ten appendices.

"I may be able," writes Mrs. Symons, "to set my brother's memory free from erroneous conjectures by a definite statement of the troubles that did nearly wreck his career at its beginning, and did permanently affect his future for both good and ill." These troubles, she thinks, had nothing to do with any heart-breaking love affairs; they were the death of his mother on the poet's twelfth birthday, his disillusion with his early religious teachings, and, principally, his failure, in 1881, in the Final Schools at Oxford. Mrs. Symons has more to say of the effect of this failure than of its cause; she imputes blame to her brother for letting the family down at a time of severe domestic crisis. She does not go so far as to call this failure in itself a perverse act, though she says that her brother "chose to be perverse in many opinions that he expressed," but she does find him guilty of intellectual arrogance, negligence, and slackness. Once mortified, he became obsessed with the determination to retrieve his academic disgrace; and thereafter, whether in penance or inoculation, gave himself to mortification as the pattern of his life. This somewhat oversimplifies Mrs. Symons's thesis, of course: nobody could be quite as grim as this makes him sound, and Mrs. Symons does allude to the feasting, joking, and witty speech of which Alfred was the center. Some of her chance remarks are more provocative than her main address: for instance, her quotation of Aldous Huxley's "excessive repression of the sexual impulses tends . . . to produce an excessive development of pride and ambition," and her own comment that this observation "exactly fits the example in my brother."

The material in the appendices may best be described as various, both as to quality and interest. The "Manilius" dedication is given in the original Latin, followed by, not facing, Edmund Wilson's fine English translation; there are notes on Housman into Greek and Latin, and on Housman as treated by English composers; there are a treatise on Housman as a scholar and several articles of personal recollections (one could wish in these last that the poet's scathing witticisms had been made the subject of definite quotation rather than merely blissful allusion). The dates of Housman's poems are given again; this makes the third time, for they are given in the complete poems published by Holt in 1940 and in Laurence Housman's recollections published in 1938 by Scribner's. Of the approximately seventy pages of appendix material, more than half consists of notes by Professor G. B. A. Fletcher. Some of these, notably those dealing with undoubted and probable reminiscences in Housman's poetry, are interesting; some of them, for example the listing of Housman's words and usages not given

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in the New English Dictionary, the catalogues of compound epithets and favorite turns and repetitions, and the comparison of the length of Housman's poems with the Odes of Horace and the poems of Catullus, are merely littish scholarship going off the deep end.

Mr. Richards's own text contains a wealth of details and a single argument. The details begin with the publication of "A Shropshire Lad," at the author's expense, in 1896, and go on from there, through the story of the early reviews, through various scholastic, literary, and gastronomic adventures, up to the bequest of the poet's wine cellar to the Family Dining Club in the University of Cambridge and of his literary remains to his brother Laurence, with an account of the mourning, eulogy, and detraction that followed upon his demise. Some of this detail is perhaps more interesting to publishers and/or epicures than to the general reader. (I expect a furious visit from Housman's ghost for that double conjunction; how he would thresh in his grave could he know of such usage!) There is a good deal of repetitiousness in the various notes from Housman dealing with corrections on the proof sheets of "Manilius," in his responses to requests for permissions from anthologists and composers, in the lists of the fancy foods and wines ingested during this or that excursion on the Continent. But the documentation, as such, is impressive; it throws a good deal of light on the visible aspects of Housman's existence.

Mr. Richards's argument, on the other hand, is concerned with the invisible aspects of that existence. He contends that, like the snakes in Ireland, there were no such; he would have done with indecent speculation as to his friend's sexual constitution and indecent examination of his moral character. Mr. Richards apparently believes that the two things are identical. But is this really true? Might one not be a homosexual, overt or repressed, and still conduct one's life with the most upright probity; or be perfectly normal, as the saying goes, and still commit the great refusal, the sin against the Holy Ghost? (And then, of course, one might be normal and good, or perverse and wicked.) Especially when we are dealing with the character of an artist, a character Housman seems never to have admitted to himself save in the most intimate seclusion, in the deepest night when he struck his fist upon the stone, we need to remember that the Muse is not concerned with bourgeois Victorian notions.

The question of the origin of Housman's art aside—though it cannot be left aside entirely—was Housman, as an artist, a failure or a success? This will no doubt sound to Mr. Richards like a shocking question to raise, but it deserves a better answer than any of those vouchsafed by the eulogists Mr. Richards gushes over or the detractors whom he flays. If we judge Housman only by what he did, we must accord him a substantial measure of success. Put in so few words, this may sound like a patronizing, impudent, or presumptuous verdict; I have not space to amplify it here, to discuss the false quality of much of the praise, the grievous omissions in the description of his excellence. I might say, in passing, that I have never been able to share the impression that Housman's tone is pessimistic, despairing, despondent; its clarity lifts his work into brightness and gaiety, in the sense that Yeats spoke of Hamlet as gay.

We come to another question, however: whether Hous-

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man left undone the things he ought to have done, whether he could accept his *Nunc Dimittis* with "the sense of having done the best—the sense which is the real life of the artist, and the absence of which is his death, of having drawn from his intellectual instrument the finest music that nature had hidden in it, of having played it as it should be played." (Curious to find these words of Henry James put in the mouth of a character supposed to bear some resemblance to Stevenson, whom Housman admired, perhaps, beyond necessity!) If we examine Housman in the light of these awful rays of truth, we shall find, I think, that he mortified not only the sinner but also the poet; that he averted disintegration by substituting induration; that, like Niobe, he turned, for his vanity, into the statue of stone he once admired. "One must beware," writes W. H. Auden, apropos of other matters, "lest humility turn into arrogance, as Housman's did." I take it this refers to something more than the superficial arrogance of being standoffish or of whacking the pates of one's fellow-inmates of the asylum at Cambridge.

Nor must Housman's attitude be considered a Stoic one, though many have seen in him an almost perfect exemplar of Stoic principles. He himself knew better; he favored the Epicureans, not because he was a man addicted to pleasures of the palate but because he was a man to whom pleasure was the highest good, pleasure, that is, in the sense of freedom from pain. (But above the Epicureans he favored the Cyrenaics, whose leader, Aristippus, held that true pleasure belongs only to him who is self-controlled and master of himself.) Housman realized how burdensome a gift was inspiration; contrast, in the preface to "Last Poems," "I can no longer expect to be revisited by the continuous excitement under which in the early months of 1895 I wrote the greater part of my other book, nor indeed could I well sustain it if it came," with Rilke's sentence, "The moment of inspiration must not be waited for but must be summoned and seized." Housman, in disavowing Stoicism, knew that Stoic principles require much more than a vulgar acceptance of pain; he knew that Stoicism insists on growth, on living in accordance with nature, knowing oneself, having an obligation to develop one's powers to their uttermost limit. This growth he denied himself; his life was painful, but he froze to the pain, and with it froze his art. If, toward the end, he heeded the voice of his daemon more clearly in life, he was by that time all but insensitive to its other demands:

> Must I tell again
> In the words I know
> For the ears of men
> The flesh, the blow?
>
> Must I show outright
> The bruise in the side,
> The halt in the night,
> And how death cried?
>
> Must I speak to the lot
> Who little bore?
> It said, *Why not?*
> It said *Once more.*

This, I think, is what Housman resolutely refused to face—not only the repetition of creative agony, but the extension of creative vision; and died impenitent.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Implements of War

THE TOOLS OF WAR. By James R. Newman. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $5.

THE present war has produced a large number of writers on military and naval matters who had no particular knowledge of their subject as recently as a year ago. These amateur militarists have contributed a good deal of misinformation, though the best of them have also had an open-mindedness and absence of bias, a faculty for apt and readable writing, and a freshness of viewpoint not often found in the professional military man.

James Newman demonstrates both the good and the bad qualities of the civilian turned military writer. Before he put together the materials for this book he apparently had no connection with military affairs. This lack of background is revealed in numerous misstatements of fact. Most plane carriers, he says, have a capacity of from 75 to 100 planes—actually only American carriers carry so large a complement. The surface tonnage of the largest submarine in the world, Surcouf, is given as 4,300. As a matter of fact, this is the submerged tonnage; the surface weight is less than 3,000 tons. Such errors are of minor importance, but they are comparatively numerous. And occasionally the writer gives glib but historically incorrect explanations of more important matters.

Despite these shortcomings "The Tools of War" is a fine piece of work. The author has traced the evolution of the principal implements used in modern war on land, sea, and in the air. His search for information has led in many directions, and he has compiled an adequate though not exhaustive bibliography. Naturally, he has left out a good deal in the long story of the development of man's weapons, but he has included the most valuable and interesting facts. He has done his best job in showing the growth of air power, his poorest on the evolution of warships. His account of present-day operations is excellent.

Like many civilians he enjoys taking pot shots at military conservatism and the frequent stupidity of military leaders. Here he is on extremely firm ground. The early distrust of such tools as the machine-gun, tank, and airplane shown by professional militarists is notorious. A military improvement usually exists for a generation or even for a century before it is adopted. Still, progress in military matters does occur, and the side having the most imagination and intelligence in its military leadership is generally the victor. An exception might be the last world war, which was decided by exhaustion rather than brains. At that, had the war lasted six months longer, all the fundamentals of the modern blitzkrieg would have been employed. Because military thinking is so extremely slow, Mr. Newman is justly skeptical of scare stories of mysterious and powerful weapons developed exclusively by one side.

Few recent military books have been more readable than "The Tools of War." The style is sure to give the greatest enjoyment to the average reader. Technical terms are either avoided or carefully explained, and numerous illustrations, many of them borrowed from recent issues of *Fortune*, others prepared personally, are of great interest.

DONALD W. MITCHELL

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RECENTLY PUBLISHED

Vanishing Eden: Wanderings in the Tropics. By Martin Birnbaum. William E. Rudge's Sons. $5.

A Short History of Canada for Americans. By Alfred Leroy Burt. Minnesota. $3.

Liberty-Equality-Fraternity. Essays and Addresses on the Problems of Today and Tomorrow. By Nicholas Murray Butler. Scribner's. $2.50.

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John Woolman: American Quaker. By Janet Whitney. Little, Brown. $3.75.

Preventing Fatal Explosions in Coal Mines. A Study of Recent Major Disasters in the United States as Accompaniments of Technological Change. By Edward A. Wieck. Russell Sage Foundation. 75 cents.

FILMS

NOW that we have become accustomed to the realism of the talkies, we are apt to find the old silent films absurdly artificial; in most cases it is hard for us to understand how we were ever able to regard them as an imitation of life, or even to effect the necessary suspension of disbelief. Nevertheless, at their best the silent films had an artistic excellence of their own which they owed partly to their limitations. For in order to overcome the handicap of silence their creators developed a technique of miming and of visual suggestion which was lost in the early talking films and has never been wholly recaptured. No one achieved this technique better than Charlie Chaplin, and he probably used it nowhere more effectively than in "The Gold Rush." There is a series of famous scenes in this film, including the fantastically plausible shoe-eating episode and the exquisite dance of the rolls, in which the art of miming is brought to perfection. The most brilliant dialogue could add nothing to their effectiveness. After seventeen years this film has now been reedited by Chaplin and fitted with a running commentary and musical score. The elimination of the captions makes it flow more smoothly, but it is essentially unchanged. It still belongs to the type and has the characteristic merits of the best silent films. The commentary, which is spoken by Chaplin himself, is appropriately unobtrusive. The only thing about it that is at all infelicitous is his habit of referring to himself as "the little fellow." The pathos of the character he has created is striking enough, particularly in this story, not to need to be thus artificially underlined. But this is a minor flaw in what is otherwise a very skilful adaptation of a seventeen-year-old film to contemporary requirements. If there is anybody who needs to be convinced of the genius of Charlie Chaplin, I can only advise him to go to see "The Gold Rush."

Another creator of very good silent films, Robert Flaherty, has recently completed his documentary of "The Land" for the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. Like many documentary films it suffers from a certain discursiveness. There are many beautiful shots of scenery and people and machines, but the selection of them seems slightly arbitrary. Nevertheless, the film has its social aim, which is to create awareness of the plight of farm labor in the face of soil wastage and erosion and the competition of the machine. The film indicates that the task of soil conservation is being successfully accomplished, but it has no solution to offer for the problem of the machine. Mr. Flaherty's commentary is adequate to its purpose.

You would have to be very fond of animals to get much enjoyment out of Alexander Korda's version of Kipling's "Jungle Book." There are a few impressive shots in technicolor of a lion and a panther; and Sabu, who impersonates Mowgli, has an effective moment as the wolf boy confronted for the first time with fire. But this is not enough to compensate for an excessively silly story of a hunt for buried treasure, a great deal of painful clowning by a group of

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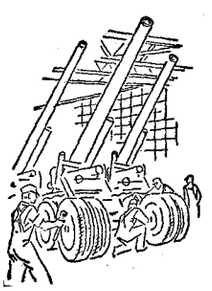

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Hollywood actors who make the least convincing Indians that I ever hope to see, and a general assimilation of Mowgli to Tarzan. For the rest, there are a large forest fire, a parade of elephants, a talking snake, and much scurrying of crowds. All in all, Mr. Korda has spared no expense in dressing up his candidate for the most vulgar film of the year.

The much-heralded "Moontide" presents Jean Gabin in a waterfront setting but is very far from being another "Quai des Brumes." It has four main characters: Gabin himself as a happy-go-lucky dock worker; Ida Lupino as a waif who domesticates him; Thomas Mitchell, giving the best performance in the film, as a vicious weakling who preys upon him; and Claude Rains as a philosophical night watchman thrown in for good measure. Except for the relationship between Gabin and Mitchell, which carries inverted echoes of "Mice and Men," there is nothing interesting about the story. Every move in it is easily predictable, all the way to the happy ending. There is one very impressive scene, where the villain meets his death, but the direction is for the most part derivative and rather pretentious. The main object of the film being apparently to turn M. Gabin into an American box-office attraction, he is made to display an excessive amount of sulky Gallic charm. I think it might have been better to have given him a reasonable opportunity to show how exceedingly well he can act.

Except for the make-up artists who succeed at one point in turning Barbara Stanwyck into quite a plausible centenarian, no one comes out well from "The Great Man's Lady." Miss Stanwyck elopes with pioneer Joel McCrea, becomes estranged from him through a misunderstanding over Brian Donlevy, loses their two children in a flood, and finally gives him up to a second wife in the interest of his career. They meet again only at his deathbed, by which time he has become a Senator and grown a long white beard. The film is supposed to imply something about American womanhood, but whatever the message is, it is not a sufficient excuse for all that everybody, including the audience, has to go through.

P. H. RYE

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RECORDS

SCHNABEL'S March 1939 recital at the Y. M. H. A. led me to speak of the process that had "created so completely and impressively right a shape for Schubert's B flat Sonata," but that, carried further, had "distended the phrases of . . . the slow movement of Schubert's Op. 53 to the point of distortion and overstatement." I mention this because Victor has issued a recording of the Sonata Op. 53 which Schnabel made *in Europe a few years ago—a recording*, then, which offers not the marvelous performance of the work that was heard in the New Friends of Music series this season, but a performance like the one that was heard at the Y. M. H. A. in 1939. In the opening section of the slow movement Schnabel extends each dotted quarter by an additional quarter, so that the measures are changed from three-quarter to four-quarter; and in lesser degree this pretentious distension is heard not only in other parts of the movement but in the scherzo that follows. The first movement and finale, however, are excellently played; and so take the set (888, $5.78) for what it offers—a partial realization of the superb work; an interesting demonstration of the fact that great artists are not necessarily perfect ones, and sometimes their imperfections are the faults of their great virtues. Take it—and ask Victor to issue the recording of Schnabel's performance of the wonderful B flat Sonata, which was released in England a year or so ago.

Victor's featured orchestral set for April offers a new recording of Sibelius's Symphony No. 1 made by Ormandy and the Philadelphia Orchestra (Set 881, $4.73). Early Sibelius is not Tchaikovsky; it is early Sibelius—which is to say Sibelius without the later refinements of method, idiom, style, orchestration, the later skill in concealing the discontinuities in thought and structure. It is, I hasten to add, quite enjoyable Sibelius—enjoyable in the way that Respighi's "Fountains" and "Pines" are enjoyable. The performance is effective and excellently recorded.

Enjoyable in a different way is Vivaldi's lovely Concerto Grosso Op. 3 No. 11 for strings. It has been available on records in the form of Stokowski's performance of his arrangement for the entire modern orchestra; now it can be had in the more continent orchestral arrangement of Siloti, of which the fine-sounding performance of Koussevitzky with the Boston Symphony is excellently recorded (Set 886, $2.63). And some day a conductor may record a performance by the string orchestra for which it was written.

Moderately enjoyable also is Haydn's unfamiliar Symphony No. 96 (Set 885, $3.68)—a minor specimen of the Haydn symphonic form, with an engaging first movement and minuet. Bruno Walter's performance is fair; as recorded the violins are a little shrill, the bass booms a little, and the over-all sound is reverberant, but not confusedly so.

On a single disc (18535, $1.05) is another unfamiliar piece, the section "On the Shores of Sorrento" from Strauss's "Aus Italien"—early and second-rate Strauss, prettily melodious and lush, well played by the Chicago Symphony under Stock, and with the sound of this orchestra recorded in a way that Columbia did not equal in even its best recording, the one of Enesco's Rumanian Rhapsody—to say nothing of its bad recordings, like the one of Schubert's C major Symphony. And on another single disc (18511, $1.05) Victor offers—and you are privileged to reject—William Schuman's Festival Overture, a characteristic piece of tripe, well played by the National Symphony under Kindler, and well recorded.

The beautiful Agnus Dei from Mozart's Mass in C minor is well sung and performed by Les Disciples de Massenet, Marcelle Denya, and the Montreal Festivals Orchestra under the direction of Pelletier, and is excellently recorded (18512, $1.05). On another single disc (18496, $1.05) Bidu Sayao does well with "Deh vieni non tardar" from Mozart's "Marriage of Figaro" and "Caro Nome" from Verdi's "Rigoletto." And another (15602, $1.05) offers "Un di felice" and "Parigi o cara" from Verdi's "Traviata," with Gigli as the bawling, sobbing Italian tenor and Caniglia as the tremolo-ridden Italian soprano.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

Mr. Rosenberg's Rebuttal

Dear Sirs: Mr. Hays thinks it "rare that those who express themselves are dangerous." So in 1931 thought German friends of mine—believers in democracy—when I asked them about Hitler's propaganda. Two of those friends lately died in a concentration camp. They did not comprehend that words are weapons. Neither, I fear, does the Civil Liberties Union, which thinks that the Biddle prosecutions will only "make issues of matters relatively dormant." Dormant? Is that the word for the tent-caterpillar shirters, fascists, and columns in our midst? Are the Pelleys, McWilliamses, Smiths, Winrods, Moselys, Coughlins, dormant?

To the accepted formula of Justice Holmes that speech may be punished when it creates a "clear and present danger" Mr. Hays would tack on Supreme Court Justice Black's addendum in last December's five-to-four Bridges decision. The danger, Justice Black tells us, must also be "extremely serious," the degree of "imminence extremely high." With this we need not quarrel but need merely remark that this opinion was handed down prior to Bataan, Corregidor, the Atlantic sinkings. Today the danger is not "imminent." It is here.

The Bridges case is not the Supreme Court's last word. That tribunal has again spoken. Only last March the *Chaplinsky* v. *New Hampshire* unanimous opinion (by a bench not noted for unanimity) reminded us that "it is well understood that the right of free speech is not an absolute"; that words which "by their very utterance . . . tend to incite" do not wear a constitutional shield; that "resort to epithets or personal abuse is not . . . opinion." Does the Civil Liberties Union stick to common sense when it regards the shouts of G. W. Christians that the President has a "good neck for a rope," of Noble and Jones that General MacArthur "deserted" his troops, as mere "opinion"? Are not they perfect types of the personal abuse and incitement through reiteration of which Hitler came to power, and by which Quislings betray their countrymen?

I turn again to Lincoln. Bitter as was the Civil War, none will gainsay our present infinitely greater peril. Assailed as violating his oath of office, as destroyer of the Constitution because of his suspension of the Writ of Habeas Corpus, Lincoln boldly chose Independence Day, July 4, 1861, for his immortal message to Congress. He knew the dangers. Boldly he justified his drastic act—the summary arrests "without resort to the ordinary processes and forms of law" when men were "dangerous to the public safety." What would the Civil Liberties Union have said in 1861? Biddle by contrast to Lincoln is a Mr. Milquetoast. Does Biddle put out dragnets for wholesale arrests by every United States attorney from Maine to California? Does he suspend the normal steps of the law? No. He takes the "ordinary course" of presentments to grand juries in those cases where his oath of office requires him to act.

"Must a government . . . be too strong for the liberties of its own people or too weak to maintain its own existence?" cried out Lincoln's anguished heart on that Fourth of July, 1861. The tyrant of that dark year, the martyr of 1865, the beloved man who had wiped out the blot of slavery, who had saved the Union and preserved our liberties, lay dead. The war had ended. Lincoln's strong measures were no longer needed. Almost at once with the return of peace the Supreme Court—a majority of whose bench had been appointed by Lincoln himself—nullified the conviction of Milligan by a Lincoln Military Commission, and restored the Writ of Habeas Corpus.

Let the Civil Liberties Union take heart. The Bill of Rights is a tree well rooted. Guarding it from tent caterpillars will not cause it to wither.

JAMES N. ROSENBERG

New York, May 4

A Challenge to Franco

Dear Sirs: In one of your recent issues you expressed some doubts about the wisdom of the President in naming Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes as ambassador to Spain. Those of us who have known Professor Hayes and followed his thinking over the years had no such doubts. In any event your doubts should have been completely resolved by Professor Hayes's forthright declaration of principles on April 25 at the Hotel Plaza in New York City.

Even *The Nation* must be moved to applaud a prospective diplomat who anticipates that he may "be back here in the not far distant future" because his tenure will be dependent, "not on the Spanish government nor to a certain extent on this government but on Hitler." Combined with his ringing challenge to any and all totalitarian governments and his avowed declaration of intention "to expound my faith in the ultimate overwhelming victory of the United Nations," this address casts a scarcely concealed gauntlet at Franco's feet.

More power to the professors of history who assume diplomatic missions. They see clearly, *vide* the late Ambassador Dodd.

HENRY EPSTEIN

Albany, N. Y., April 29

The Laval Disaster

Dear Sirs: The policy of appeasing Vichy, of working with well-known traitors, has led to the third great disaster of our present time. The German aggression was the first; the Japanese the second; and now the Laval disaster.

A country cannot control the seas merely with a large navy and a large air force. It can only control the seas by having bases. Our bases in the Pacific are lost. With the acquisition of the French fleet Hitler will obtain possession of Casablanca, Dakar, Toulon, Bizerte, and Madagascar, and he will control the Atlantic, the Mediterranean, and the Indian Ocean. To imagine that Darlan is not going to play Hitler's game 100 per cent is the height of folly.

Tomorrow our country will be an island surrounded by seas practically in the hands of the enemy. There may be some hope if we stop talking, get rid of our appeasers, and act. These things should be done at once: (1) Take Martinique, which today means a naval battle and the loss of precious ships. Martinique could have been taken without the loss of a man a year ago. (2) Take, or try to take, Madagascar, which would at least delay the action of the Germans and the French there. (3) Try to take Dakar. It will be impossible for De Gaulle to defend the African territories if Dakar remains in the hands of the Germans.

Naturally, there is hope in the Russian situation. But Hitler has covered his back well with the Laval action, and

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we were caught napping again. Every help must be given to Russia, and a second front must be opened if possible. The chances of landing in France now are very slight. Norway may be better, but here I am guessing.

PETER MARKHAM

New York, April 23

Evacuating American Citizens

Dear Sirs: I was in San Francisco about the second of April and saw large notices that all Japanese aliens and citizens would have to leave on the following Monday. My mind went back to similar notices that I saw posted in Germany some years ago, proclaiming restrictions against the Jews.

Monday came, and my wife and I were asked to help some of the Japanese from their homes to the assembling place on Van Ness Avenue. Our particular concern was a family of nine, grandparents, parents, and children, the youngest a baby a few weeks old. These people had had a little cleaning business, which was being taken over by some friends. The government had provided storage for their car and the personal effects that they could not take with them. When we arrived at the evacuation center we took their bundles out of our car, and the soldiers helped us pile them in a great heap on the sidewalk. The place, a former automobile sales room, was filled with men, women, and children, those who were leaving and their friends who had come to see them off. It was an extremely orderly crowd, the soldiers were very kind, and the social workers saw that all went smoothly. Everyone had a tag with his name and number, and the baggage had tags with corresponding numbers.

My wife busied herself with the children of our little family, and I walked round with a strange feeling that this could not be the America that I had fought for in 1918. And then I saw among the crowd an American Legion cap. Its wearer was pretty discouraged and a little bitter as he told me he had thought his service would entitle him to remain in his home, or at least to have an investigation of his loyalty. One other Legion member the night before had rented a room in a hotel and blown his brains out rather than be evacuated.

This group was sent to a camp that had been hurriedly set up on the grounds of the Santa Anita race track near Los Angeles; they will be evacuated from there as soon as more permanent camps or positions can be found for them. Temporary crowded barracks are not the pleasantest place to live, though the exigencies of war might make this necessary for any of us; and it is a pretty grim job to evacuate our own citizens—students, teachers, nurses, doctors, Y. M. C. A. secretaries, Salvation Army workers, lawyers, ministers, and mostly just the simple people who want only a chance to make a modest honest living and, if need be, to serve under our common flag.

Disloyalty doubtless exists among the Japanese Americans as well as among other citizens, but let us not consider the color of a man's skin a test of his loyalty.

FRANK B. DUVENECK

Los Altos, Cal., April 20

Wellesley Summer Institute

Dear Sirs: In spite of everything the Summer Institute for Social Progress at Wellesley has decided to go ahead and hold a one week's session, July 4 to 10, on "What We Can Do to Win the War and Prepare for Peace."

In open-forum sessions and small round tables war and post-war political and economic problems will be discussed under the leadership of such experts as Mordecai Ezekiel, economic adviser to the Secretary of Agriculture, Margaret Bondfield of the British Labor Party, and Henry Simon Bloch, of the staff of the Institute of Military Studies of the University of Chicago.

All interested in the preservation of long-term democratic values are invited to apply for membership regardless of age or previous schooling. For a final program write to me at 22 Oakland Place, Buffalo, New York.

DOROTHY P. HILL, Director

Wellesley, Mass., April 30

ANNA FREUD REPORTS

A monthly report on the psychological reactions of children to wartime conditions. Prepared by Anna Freud, eminent psychoanalyst and daughter of Sigmund Freud, and Dorothy T. Burlingham, American psychologist, co-director of the Hampstead Nurseries in London. Based on work being done with war-torn children.

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